MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC TEXTILES UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST

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CHAPTER XV*
TEXTILES IN THE YEMEN

THE FLOURISHING AND HIGHLY DEVELOPED PRE-Islamic civilization of southwest Arabia was much concerned in the trade carried along that greatest highway of the world, the Red Sea (Map 1). The author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,*[1] writing about 70 A.D., gives a list of merchandise imported to Muza (modern Mawza'), a few hours to the north of Mocha,[2] which is of considerable interest and may be compared with later lists of a similar nature. It included "purple cloths both fine and coarse; clothing in the Arabian style with sleeves; plain, ordinary, embroidered or interwoven with gold; saffron, sweet rush, muslins, cloaks, blankets (not many), some plain and others made in the local fashion, sashes of different colors."[3] To the present day blankets are still woven in the Yemen, each district producing its characteristic type; many are similar in pattern to the decoration of the carved alabaster ornamentation of the pre-Islamic era. Such blankets are used as mats or saddlebags for camels; perhaps they resembled those sent to Chosroes (see *infra*).[4]

A list of exports to the African coast of the Red Sea is also given; it can be assumed that these also went to the Arabian coast, especially the iron which, we know from Arab authors, went to Arabia:

> Likewise from the district of Ariaca (the northwest coast of India, especially round the Gulf of Cambay) there are imported Indian iron and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broadcloth called monachê[5] and that

striped blanket carpet (shamla), corresponding exactly in pattern to the carved stone friezes illustrated in C. Rathjens and H. v. Wissmann, *Vorislamische Altertümer, Südarabien-Reise* (Hamburg, 1932), II, 52. For an illustration of the shamla, see E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden* (Heidelberg, 1934), Taf. viii, 3, g. These are often though not invariably woven by Jewish weavers. In the well-known "Himyaritic" inscription, Glaser 1,000 A (trans. in N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte* [Wien and Leipzig, 1927], I, 25) the spinners of Īth are mentioned after the 'Ūd, the present 'Awdhilla tribe, and they probably inhabited country not far from the 'Ūd. It is important that the word used in the inscription 𐩧𐩣𐩱 corresponds to the Arabic ḥulla, a characteristic word used to describe the Yemen product. 𐩧𐩣𐩱 is translated as *"tentoria, vici."*

[5] Schoff (*Periplus,* p. 72), suggested that monachê may be a corruption of some Indian trade name. The word seems to have the same radicals as the word nakhkh (pl. ankhākh), a form of which, munakhkhakh, I propose to read for munaḥḥaḥ in the passage from al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Djamāhir* (quoted in Chapter X). It does not seem to be an Arabic word, and may well be derived from India. It is used in a Chinese source (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* [London, 1910], II, 124) and in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* trans. by H. Yule (London, 1878), I, 65. Vullers, quoted by R.P.A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), II, 648, described nakhkh as a *"tapetum vel stratum elegans et pictum,"* but it can also be *étoffe de soie brochée d'or brocart.* It is not improbable that monachê is connected with the Arabic word nakhkh.

* See also preceding chapters in *Ars Islamica,* Vols. IX–XII (1942–46).

[1] *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* trans. by W. H. Schoff (New York, 1912), p. 30.

[2] For a discussion of the whereabouts of this locality, see C. v. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale* (Leyden, 1905–13), II, II, 1140. He quoted the name from Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Boldān. Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. H. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 680.

[3] Probably the characteristic South Arabian fūṭa (see *infra*) or perhaps the brightly colored waist sashes of the same material used by the people to this day.

[4] From the 'Awdhalī country I brought to England a

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called sagmatogênê, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-colored cloth (molochinê) and a few muslins and colored lac.[6]

Yemen stuffs are frequently mentioned by the early Arab poets an examination of whose works might elicit some slight particulars as to their style and form, and to the early Muslims the country was known as a wealthy province which produced textiles. There are traditional accounts of exports of cloth from the Yemen to the rest of Arabia. According to Azraḳī,[7] the Kaaba was covered by the Tubba' kings of the Yemen, long before Islam, with "waṣīla"[8] cloth of striped stuff (ḥibra) of the 'Aṣb of the Yemen, while the prophet is said by no less an authority than Wāḳidī[9] to have covered the Kaaba with Yemen cloth (thiyāb Yamanīya). The prophet's ancestor, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was enshrouded in two cloaks (ḥulla) of the Yemen, worth a thousand mithḳāls in gold; though this report is probably untrue, it shows the estimation in which the stuffs were held.[10]

During the reign of Khusrau Anūshirwān (531–79 A.D.), a Persian expedition conquered the country which then became a vassal state under a line of Persian governors. According to Tha'ālibī,[11] the special products of the province were brought to Anūshirwān by way of presents from his general Wahriz. The *Aghānī*[12] records that Bādhān, the Persian governor of the Yemen, "sent to Kisrā (Chosroes) a caravan carrying cloth (thiyāb) of the Yemen kind, musk, ambergris, and two saddlebags (khurdj) in which there were ornamented girdles (mintaḳ)." This caravan never reached its destination, being plundered en route, but it does seem to show that Yemen cloth came to Persia either

[6] *Periplus,* p. 24. For Indian swords, see F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern* (Leipzig, 1886), but there are iron workings dating from the pre-Islamic age in southwestern Arabia, from which the metal of the famous Yemen swords was, no doubt, derived.

[7] Azraḳī, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 173–74.

[8] Plural وصائل , see 'Azīmuddīn Ahmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šamsval 'Ulūm* (Leyden-London, 1916), Gibb Memorial Ser. (=G.M.S.) XXIV, 114, where it is said to be cloth brought from the Yemen. Muhammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-'Arūs* (Cairo, 1307 H. [1888–89 A.D.]), VIII, 156 describes waṣīla as "striped red Yemen cloth" (thawb aḥmar mukhaṭṭaṭ Yamān-in), or as "red burūd upon which are green stripes (khuṭūṭ)." E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), I, 499, quoting early sources, described ḥibra as "a garment of the kind called burd . . . or a sort of burd of the fabric of El-Yemen . . . striped, munammar (or this word . . . may perhaps signify spotted) . . . a kind of garment of the fabric of El-Yemen, of cotton or linen, striped (mukhaṭṭaṭ)." For 'aṣb, *ibid.,* I, 2058: "A particular sort of the garment called burūd of the fabric of El-Yemen; a burd of which the yarn is dyed and then woven; or of which the yarn is put together and bound, then dyed, and then woven; . . . or garments of the kind called burūd of the fabric of El-Yemen, the yarn of which is put together and bound, and then dyed, and woven so that they become party-colored, because what has been bound thereof remains white, the dye not having taken it; and such garments a woman in the period termed 'idda is allowed to wear, but not garments that are (wholly) dyed; or striped garments of the kind called burūd; and what is forbidden in that case is a garment that has been dyed after it has been woven; or what are forbidden are the 'aṣb of El-Yemen which are said to have been dyed with urine." This is evidently a reference to the celebrated ikat cloth of the Yemen.

Burd, the textile always associated with the Yemen (pl. burūd), is described (*ibid.,* I, I, 184) as "a kind of striped garment . . . particular kinds thereof are distinguished by such terms as burd 'aṣb, and burd waṣhī." He noted that a burda may be "a striped garment of the kind called shamla." This is the striped woolen woven strips of carpet manufactured in South Arabia today.

[9] Quoted by Azraḳī, *op. cit.,* I, 176.

[10] Ya'ḳūbī, *Ibn al-Wādhiḥ qui dicitur al-Ja'qūbī historiae,* ed. by M. T. Houtsma (Leyden, 1883), II, 13.

[11] Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des perses,* ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 618.

[12] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Bulaq, 1285 H. [1888–9]), XVI, 78.

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as presents or as part of the tribute, after the Sasanian practice.

It may be as a result of this interchange with the Yemen that later Rayy manufactured cloths of the same kind as those of Aden, and Isfahan and Nishapur manufactured stuff called Sa'īdī, which was also made at San'a.[13] Kerman, according to Djahshiyārī's list,[14] which is fuller than that of Ibn Khaldūn,[15] sent with the tribute to the Abbasid caliphs, five hundred lengths of cloth (thawb of Yamanī and Khabīṣī stuff (matā'). I surmise that this Yamanī stuff was either made or imported into Kerman.[16] It is quite possible that the Persians may have transferred Yemenites to Persia to carry on the manufacture of stuffs. The last Persian governor of the country was converted to Islam in the year 628 A.D., and the province with its tribute passed into Muslim hands.

Al-Nu'mān of Ḥīra [17] (*ca.* 580–602 A.D.) used to send to the fair of 'Ukāẓ, when the season came round, "perfume which the lord of Muḍar allowed him. This was sold and the proceeds spent on skins, silk (ḥarīr) . . . and striped material (burūd) of 'aṣb-cloth, washī-silk, and striped cloth of Aden (musaiyar 'Adanī)." In later times the prophet condemned a musaiyar garment sold at the door of the mosque, this type of cloth being defined by al-Muṭarrizī [18] as "striped cloth (burūd) with an admixture of ḳazz silk, striped cloth with yellow stripes."

Many sources report the agreement made by the prophet with the inhabitants of Nadjrān that they should pay part of their tax in cloth. Ibn Sa'd [19] wrote that the embassy from Nadjrān came wearing "striped cloth (ḥibra) and cloaks bordered with silk (ardiya makfūfa bi 'l-ḥarīr)." By the agreement they were to pay 2,000 cloaks (ḥulla), or according to another source," a thousand Nadjrān cloaks, and thirty 'Ādite mail coats (dir')." [20]

[13] See Chapters VIII, footnote 15, and X, footnote 37.

[14] al-Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa 'l-Kuttāb* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 281–88. Khabīṣ is a small town not far from Kerman.

[15] See Chapter I, footnote 8.

[16] The trade connections between Kerman and the South Arabian coastal cities must have been close. I have collected polychrome glass bracelets from the sites where they were manufactured, at Ḥabīl, Abyān, and Kawd Am-Saila, all within a day's journey of Aden, to discover later that Sir Aurel Stein had published a number of identical bracelets from the Makran coast in his *Archaeological Reconnaissances and South-Eastern Iran* (London, 1937). It is impossible to say whether the bracelets are post- or pre-Islamic as they are found in association with the remains of both periods; it seems probable that the manufacture originated in the pre-Islamic period and continued after the conquest without a break.

[17] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, XIX, 75.

[18] Nāṣir ibn 'Abd al-Saiyid al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'rib* (Hyderabad, 1328 A.H.), I, 272 (reference supplied by M. Minovi). Among other places there is a reference to this cloth in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* under the form سيراء, and in *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. and trans. by C. J. Lyall (Oxford, 1918), II, 178, verse 9. In the former it is equivalent to ḥulla ḥarīr, a cloak of silk.

[19] Muhammad ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kabīra*, ed. by E. Mittwoch (Leyden, 1905), I, 85, also, II, 36. There is little doubt that silk was known and probably also woven in the Yemen prior to the Muslim era. Al-Hamdānī (al-Hamdānī, *The Eighth Book of al-Iklīl*, trans. by N. A. Faris, under the title *The Antiquities of South Arabia* [Princeton, 1938], p. 75) mentioned "silk-lined garments and gold-embroidered robes" found in the Himyarite tombs. The apocryphal nature of the stories about these tombs should not blind one to the real evidence of their discovery. Hamdānī (*ibid.*, p. 45) said also of these Himyarite tombs: "Some of their (better) shrouds, which are made of fine linen have endured."

[20] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 484. In Chapter III, I mentioned "two hundred Nadjrānī cloaks" brought with the local tax to Baghdad in the time of the Caliph Ma'mūn. A. S. Tritton has drawn my attention to the passage in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 68, from which it is evident that the reference is to the tribute paid by those Nadjrānīs exiled to Mesopotamia

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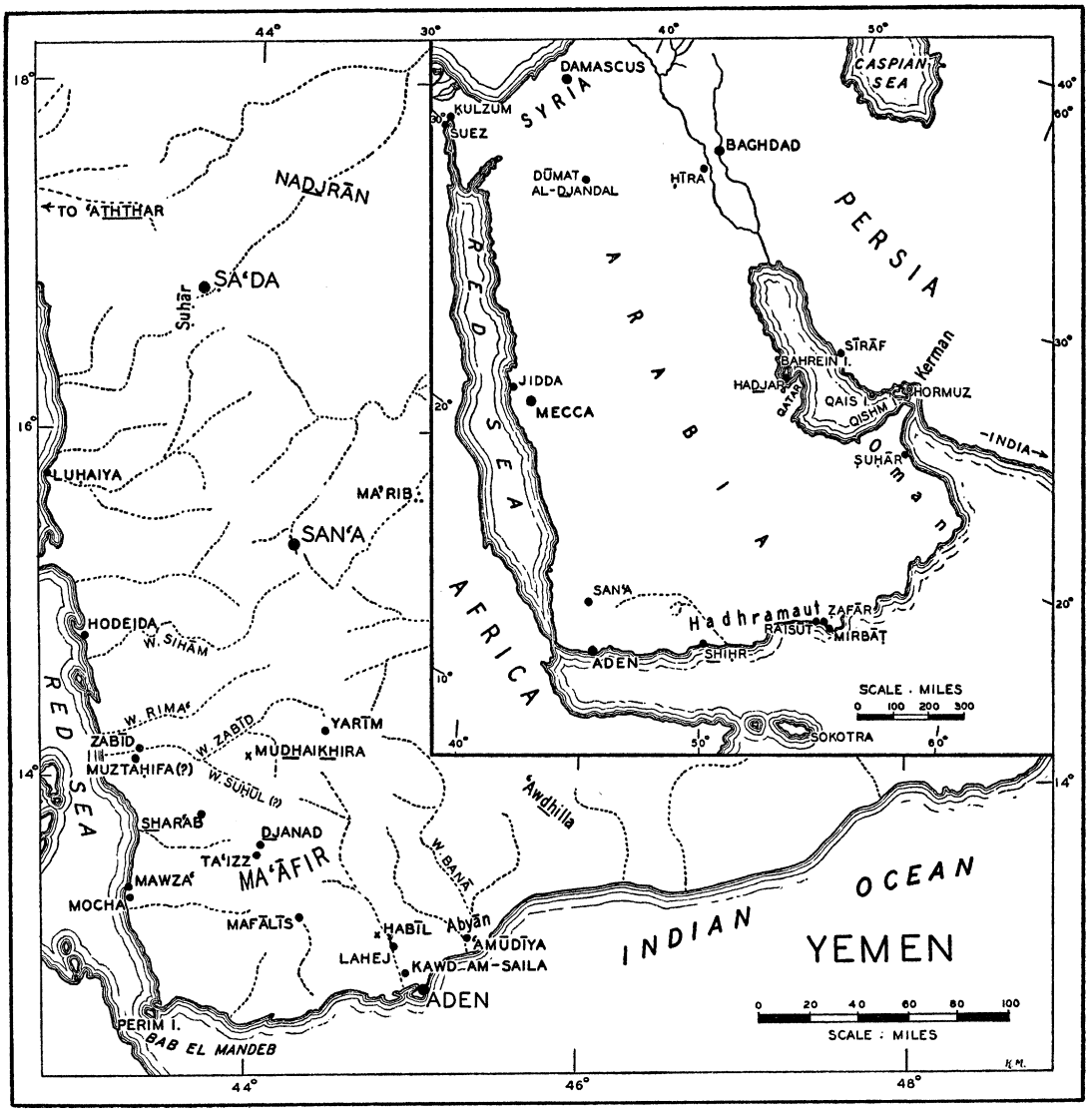

Map 1. Yemen

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In early Islamic times, during the lifetime of the prophet, a governor of Djanad (near Ta'izz) who had a mother, a foreigner, perhaps a Persian, from Yemen in Hadhramaut, or it is said Ḥimyar, used to get thread from there called ghazl Yamān(in), according to an obscure and corrupt text in the *Aghānī*.[21] The prophet's grandson Husain, when killed at Kerbela, was wearing trousers (sarāwīl) of Yemen stuff.[22] The poet Omar ibn Abī Rabī'a wore a variegated (or embroidered) Yemen cloak (ḥulla mawshīya Yamānīya),[23] and Farazdaḳ appears in a variegated Yemen cloak of cotton (ḥulla awfāf yamānīya muwashshā).[24] *The Aghānī* [25] records that Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik had a "pavilion (surādiḳ) set up for himself, made of striped stuff (ḥibra) which Yūsuf ibn Omar had made for him in the Yemen. In it was another tent (fusṭāṭ) containing four sleeping mats (firāsh) of red khazz silk, with pillows of the same material. He himself was wearing a shirt (durrā'a) and a turban ('imāma) of red khazz silk." This passage would lead one to infer that the Umayyad caliphs had royal factories in the Yemen itself, and Yemen garments seem to have been sent as robes of honor for a letter dated in the same reign, contains the phrase: "They have sent you the Yamanī garment (thawb), so when it comes to you, put it on." [26]

Djahshiyārī,[27] quoting a list of special products of the provinces brought to the treasury (Bait al-Māl) during the reign of Harun al-Rashid, a list compiled by an official who had also served under al-Mahdī, gave the figure for the annual tax as 870,000 dinars, apart from cloth (thiyāb). Rashid's physician, Bakhtīshū' ibn Djibrā'īl, obtained annually along with other perquisites, three robes of figured material from the Yemen (al-washī al-Yamanī).[28]

Djāḥiẓ mentioned silken Yemen stuffs:

> The best kinds of figured washī stuffs are the Sābirī kind, the Kufan variety, the ibrīsm-silk kind (probably embroidered with silk), the type which is embroidered with gold and woven (al-mudhahhab al-mansūdj), then the Alexandrine figured washī stuff of pure linen, then that which is woven with gold, then the spun figured cloth (al-washī al-ghazlī), then that which has in it ibrīsm silk, but contains no gold; that is the Yamanī kind, because in this fashion it is more valuable than the spun (ghazlī) stuff. The ibrīsm-silk kind does not fetch the price that the Yemen type does, for a spun(ghazlī) garment sometimes fetches a thousand dinars.[29]

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by Omar. Describing the prophet's wardrobe, H. Lammens ("Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet," *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici* [Rome, 1912], pp. 69–70) said: "Pour les circonstances solennelles il revêtira donc la grande chlamyde rouge. Elle lui avait coûté 50 dinars. . . . Ou bien il choisira dans sa garde-robe les tuniques en soie, ou en pourpre, le beau manteau, chamarré d' or, rapporté par Khālid ibn al-Walīd de Dūmat al-Djandal; d'autres tuniques d'apparat, cadeaux des moines, habitant les déserts voisins, des chrétiens de Nadjrān, ou achetées par ses agents en Syrie, en Égypte, à Aden, à Ṣuḥār, à Ḳaṭar, au Ḥaḍramawt, et dans les autres centres manufacturiers comme Manbidj de Syrie." For the materials bought at Aden, Ṣuḥār, Ḳaṭar, and Hadramaut, Father Lammens unfortunately gives no references to the sources of his information.

[21] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, I, 32.

[22] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), II, 364.

[23] *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), I, 259.

[24] *Ibid.*, IX, 338. Cf. 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 83: "Burd mufawwaf has white stripes (khaṭṭ) on it, and al-burūd al-mufawwafa are of the weave (nasdj) of the Yemen."

[25] *Ibid.*, II, 136.

[26] al-Djahshiyārī, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 281–88. Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolégomènes historiques*, ed. M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), I, 364, gave the revenue in the reign of Ma'mūn as "370,000 dinars without counting stuffs." Ibn Khurdādbih, *Liber viarum et regnorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1889), VI, trans. p. 108, estimated the tax at 600,000 dinars.

[28] Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1299 H. [1882 A.D.]), I, 136.

[29] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 334 f.

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In another place,[30] among the exports of the Yemen he enumerates khiṭr (a black dye), wars (a yellow dye still in use),[31] and cloaks (burūd[32]).

The geographers vary but little; according to Ibn Khurdādbih, "the exports of the Yemen are figured washī stuffs and other garments, ambergris, wars-dye, mules, and donkeys,"[33] and "Aden is one of the important ports[34] . . . there is ambergris there, and musk, as well as goods from Sind, Hind, and China, the Negroes (Zandj), Fars, Basra, Jidda, and Ḳulzum."[35] Ibn al-Faḳīh[36] said that "the people of the Yemen have Yemen cloaks (ḥulla), Sa'īdī, and Aden garments." Hamdānī (*ob.* 945 A.D.) said:

> In the Yemen are the precious kingly (mulūkī) articles of silk (ḥarīr), and leather mats (anṭā') of al-Ṣutt which do not get wet through the rain of many days, and the carpets of al-Rīḥ of this silk, and it is marvelous.[37]

Maḳdisī said:

> The specialties of the different parts of this province are the leather of Zabīd, and its unrivalled indigo (nīl[38]) which is like lapis lazuli, the linen cloths (shurūb) of Aden which are preferable to ḳaṣab-linen, the fibres of al-Maḥdjara called līf, the striped cloaks (burūd) of Suḥūlā and al-Djuraib, the leather mats and bags of San'a, the Sa'īdī cloth of San'a, and the wars of Aden.[39]

Of Suḥūl, Bukhārī said:

> The apostle of God was shrouded in three pieces of white cotton stuff called Suḥūlīya, from the village of Suḥūl in the Yemen. In these three pieces there was neither shirt nor turban.[40]

Yemen fabrics enjoyed a high reputation in centers of fashion, for the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[41] notes the striped cloaks of the Yemen as an item in a list of precious materials, and the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*[42] says that the dandies of that age wore Aden cloaks with borders (al-ardiya al-muwashshāt al-'Adanīya). Even as late an

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[31] For an article on wars, see A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* (Wien, 1922), pp. 266–70.

[32] Throughout most of this work the word "burd" has been translated as "cloaks" wherever there is no contra-indication against this meaning. From footnote 8, it is clear that this word covers a whole range of textiles. See H. Scott, *In the High Yemen* (London, 1942), plate facing p. 137.

[33] Ibn Khurdādbih, *op. cit.*, trans., p. 52.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[35] For a note on Ḳulzum, a port near Suez (al-Suwais) which later supplanted it, see the *Encyl. Islām*, (Leyden, 1913–38), II, 1114–15.

[36] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252. For the Arab-China trade, see Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. by F. Hirth, and W. W. Rockhill (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 22, 61, 114. A broad survey of the available sources may also be consulted in Hadi Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation* (London, 1928).

[37] Hamdānī, *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden, 1884–91), I, 202.

[38] The indigo of South Yemen is still well known. In many of the mountainous areas of the Aden Protectorate the tribesmen smear it on their bodies, and with it they dye their three pieces of clothing, the fūṭa, the sash, and the turban. Of recent years this practice has to a large extent disappeared in the Yemen itself. Cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–66.

[39] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii moslemici*, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 98.

[40] Bukhārī, *el-Bokhâri, Les Traditions islamiques*, trans. by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes* (= *P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1905–14), IV, III, I, 409, 414. This is repeated in al-Balkhī, *Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. and trans. by C. Huart (*P.E.L.O.V.*), IV (1916), XXII, V, text, p. 68. See also A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (Leipzig, 1864), p. 154, and al-Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-Amkina wa 'l-Djibāl wa 'l-Miyāh*, ed. S. de Grave (Leyden, 1856), p. 85.

[41] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[42] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

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author as Ibn Khaldūn [43] is moved to say, showing the estimation in which the Yemenite manufacture was held:

> The arts last long in a civilized land. They are preserved there, always reviving, especially those which are peculiar to the Yemen, such as the manufacture of figured (washī) stuff, 'aṣb-stuff, the weaving of clothes and stuffs of silk, etc., which have been brought to perfection.

A passage from Ḳalḳashandī [44] may indirectly imply the existence of ṭirāz factories in the Yemen:

> One of the insignia of the Caliphate consists of the caliphial garments (thiyāb al-Khilāfa). Sultan 'Imād al-Dīn, the lord of Hama, in his history, in the chapter on the biography of al-Malik al-Sa'īd Isma'īl, one of the Ayyubid monarchs in the Yemen, said that he acted foolishly therein. He claimed that he was one of the Umayyads and donned the caliphial garments. Then he (the author) said that the length of the sleeve in that day was twenty inches (shibr); he may have meant the time of the Umayyads or that of the Ayyubids.

Ibn Baṭūṭa [45] stated that the king of the Yemen (al-Mu'aẓẓam Yūsuf ibn Rasūl) "used to provide the covering for the Kaaba until al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāūn (the Mameluke) deprived him of that right." According to Khazradjī,[46] again in 800 H. (1397–98 A.D.), the sultan of Arabia sent the covering for the sacred edifice to Mecca.

The most important textile manufacturing center seems to have been the capital, San'a. According to Ibn Rusta,[47] "from San'a are imported leather, sandals of unscraped skins (ni'āl musha"ara,[48] leather mats (anṭā'), the valuable striped material (burūd), the cloth of a single color (muṣmat), and the striped cloaks (ardiya), a striped cloak fetching a hundred dinars there." Hamdānī [49] remarked in passing that during the summer in San'a the people wear "heavy clothes (ṣakrawī) of wool and silk." Isḥāḳ ibn al-Husain [50] (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.]) wrote of precious garments made in San'a. Idrīsī [51] said that "most of the houses are constructed of wood and planks; there is one where they make the stuffs known under the name of stuffs of San'a."

[43] Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun,* ed. E. Quatremère, *Notes et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* XVI-XVIII (1858), II, 314, and *Prolégomènes historiques,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), II, 366. For thiyāb al-khilāfa see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.], III, 274.

[44] *Ibid.,* III, 274.

[45] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 324.

[46] Khazradjī, *Al-Khazraji's History of the Rasúlí Dynasty of Yaman,* ed. E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, and A. Rogers (Leyden-London, 1906–7), G.M.S., III, II, 268.

[47] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafisa,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 112.

[48] This translation was suggested to me by R. Levy, and it may refer to the Badawi sandals known as ḥuyūsh.

[49] Hamdānī, *op. cit.,* p. 11 (before 334 H. [945 A.D.]). This word is uncertain. See the note of H. W. Glidden in his review of the Hamdānī edition of Faris, *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 223.

[50] Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Marḏjān, Il compendio geografico arabo di Isḥāḳ . . .,* ed. A. Codazzi, *Rendiconti della r. accad. naz. dei Lincei,* VI, IV (1929), 390.

[51] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 50. This passage is highly suspect for the houses of San'a today are not constructed of wood but of mud or stone; nor is it at all likely that they were constructed of other materials in Idrīsī's time. If the translator is not at fault, Idrīsī's information can scarcely be correct. At the present day Imam Yaḥyā has a private factory at San'a said to be under the charge of an Egyptian, which makes fabrics for the royal house. At Aden I have seen a fine example of striped silk from this modern ṭirāz totally different from the peasant manufactures of the country. Gold is used in weaving there, and lovely stuffs worth very high prices are produced. I do not know whether inscriptions are ever on these textiles, but they closely resemble the medieval stuffs. Brauer, *op. cit.,* p. 246 said, "Ṣan'ā' ist für einen halbseidenen Stoff berühmt."

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Khāḳānī [52] mentioned the khazz silk of Kufa and the washī of San'a as fine stuffs. Nuwairī [53] (*ob.* 1333 A.D.) noted that one says "the striped stuffs of the Yemen" and "the figured washī-stuffs of San'a." These garments thus became proverbial; that some at least had a ṭirāz-inscribed border is known from modern discoveries of San'a fabrics.[54] Ibn al-Wardī (early fourteenth century) mentioned the wars-dye of San'a.[55]

Aden's participation in the textile trade probably goes even further back into antiquity than the writing of the *Periplus*, extracts from which have been quoted above. The purchases of Aden cloth made by the king of Ḥīra at 'Ukāẓ represent a traditional knowledge of a textile trade to northern Arabia from Aden, although the story itself smacks of legend. Ibn Hishām [56] mentioned a man wearing an Aden cloak (ḥulla 'Adanīya) at Minā during the heathen rites performed there before the triumph of the prophet. In the early Islamic period a lady in the Hejaz gave Aden cloth (thiyāb) as a present.[57] There does, however, seem to be some doubt as to whether the cloth known as "'Adanī" was manufactured in Aden, or, as some authorities incline to think, was imported there from the Far East (India and China).

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [58] quoted from a poet: "Many a garden . . . which Aden has clothed with its washī-silk." Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain [59] gave Aden cloth brief mention, and Maḳdisī [60] noted in his list of items of merchandise which come to the port:

> Aden receives (in addition to other wares that come to the Yemen) ambergris, linen cloth (shurūb), shields, Abyssinian slaves, servants, leopard skins, . . . Chinese wares are proverbially famous.

The linen cloth was probably imported from Egypt; in this connection it is worthy of note that Abū Makhrama [61] mentioned a certain Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Djabbār ibn Abdallah al-'Umawī al-'Uthmānī al-Tādjir al-Bazzāz al-Kārimī al-Iskandarānī (the Alexandrine merchant and trader in cloth), who was born at Alexandria in 544 H. (1149–50 A.D.). This merchant presumably traded between Egypt and Aden. Nor is his an isolated instance, for another Alexandrine merchant is mentioned who flourished before 665 H. (1266–67 A.D.).

Goods coming to Aden from abroad or from the interior of the Yemen were taxed at the port. Abū Makhrama writing between 870 H. (1465 A.D.) and 947 H. (1540 A.D.) has preserved a tariff of dutiable goods drawn up by a certain Khalaf the Jew, called al-Nahāwandī, presumably a man of Persian origin like so many of the notables and traders established in the Yemen at

[52] Khāḳānī, *Dīwān* (Teheran, 1316–17 H. [1899–1900 A.D.]), p. 630. This author flourished during the sixth century H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Reference from M. Minovi.

[53] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 369.

[54] Cf. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1932), III, 151, IV, 174. See also "Ṭirāz," *Encyl. Islām, Suppl.* (Leyden, 1938), p. 250, where an Abbasid stuff from the San'a ṭirāz dated 311 H., is mentioned.

[55] Ibn al-Wardī, *Perle des merveilles . . .*, par Ebn el-Ouardi, partly trans. by M. de Guignes, *Notes et ext. de la bibl. du roi* (Paris, 1789), II, 42.

[56] Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Isḥâḳ bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik ibn Hischâm*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–60), I, I, 282. Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 86 quoted a legend that when 'Ād ibn Iram's tomb was discovered the body was dressed in "two 'Adanite garments heavily sewn with jewels."

[57] *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Bulaq., 1285 H. [1868–69 A.D.]), III, 105.

[58] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1293 H. [1876 A.D.]), III, 187.

[59] Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain, *op. cit.*

[60] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 97. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

[61] Abū Makhrama, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter* (Uppsala, 1936), II, 115, 117 (*Ta'rīkh Thaghr 'Adan*).

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that time. This tariff [62] was in operation during the sway of the Zurai'id dynasty (519–69 H. [1125–73 A.D.]), and the following dues were payable:

On the buhār (300 lbs.) of flax, seven and a half dinars. . . . On the pieces of silk of Zabīd manufacture, half a dinar and a djā'iz (equivalent to eight fils, a small copper coin) were charged; on a Ẓafār length of cloth (thawb), a quarter dinar and a djā'iz; on a white piece (shiḳḳa), the eighth of a dinar; on Sūsī three ḳīrāṭs, on Sūsī fūṭas (kilts or wrappers [63]), a quarter and a djā'iz; on a score of cloaks (kawradja al-Maḥābis [64]), four dinars; on a score of hand-woven fabrics (? aḥwāk), two dinars and a half, as also with subā'ī; [65] on a dozen lengths of unbleached Indian cloth (al-thiyāb al-khām), two dinars; on large Sūsī fabrics (sawāsī [66]) of linen (kattān), two djā'iz and a ḳīrāṭ; and on the small (variety) two djā'iz and two fils.

An interesting note adds that articles upon which no duty is payable are "pillows (mikhadda), cushions (miswar), and Arab [67] cloths made in Malabar (B d ḳ lī)." [68]

Imports from Daibul are mentioned, but they do not include textiles. If the reading "Arab cloths" is correct, this passage may allude to the colored fūṭas made in the East Indies, similar to those imported at the present day. Sa'di's *Gulistān* [69] contains the story of a merchant who takes the Yemen striped cloth (burd-i Yamānī) to Pars, and the Rūmī brocade (dībā) to India, so there was evidently a not inconsiderable exchange of textiles with India during the thirteenth century, in which Sa'di flourished. The quantities of Far Eastern products which arrived at Aden may be conjectured from reading that in 703 H. (1303–4 A.D.) a merchant arrived from China (Khiṭā) with merchandise of great value, including "silk (ḥarīr) 300 buhārs (1 buhār being equivalent to 300 Baghdad raṭls or pounds) . . . a great quantity of cloth of different

[62] *Ibid.*, I, 59, 60. According to W. H. Ingrams, *A Report on the Hadramawt* (London, 1937), p. 13, the buhār is about 300 lbs.

[63] For this word fūṭa (pl. fuwaṭ), see S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (Madras, 1942), p. 96, quoting al-Muhallabī (fourth century H.): "I have not heard this word in aught of the language of the Arabs, and I know not whether it be an Arabic word or of the language of the foreigners, but I have seen in al-Kūfa striped waist wrappers which are sold, and are bought by the camel drivers and the Arabs of the desert and the servants and people of the lowest sort who use them as waist-wrappers and call them thus." Dr. Nainar quoted Ibn Duraid as maintaining that it is a word of the language of Sind arabicised from پوتہ , and another source which gives the Yemen equivalent as Azharīya. Nashwān ibn Sa'īd (*op. cit.*, p. 82) said: "Al-Fūṭa is striped cloth (burd mukhaṭṭaṭ) brought from the Yemen."

[64] Vocalised kūradja, in E. V. Stace, *An English-Arabic Vocabulary* (London, 1893), p. 149. In the translated extract from the "Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir of Ibn al-Mudjāwir" in F. M. Hunter, *An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia* (London, 1877), p. 193, maḥābis is rendered "coverlets or cloaks." This, however, is probably not a very satisfactory rendering. In Chapter X of this inquiry, reins are said to have been woven in the prisons of Bukhara (maḥābis), and perhaps some word has been lost here in the text which might have given the name of a stuff woven in the prisons. Löfgren makes it equivalent to "miḳrama, Decke."

[65] Subā'ī, literally "(cloth) consisting of seven (parts)," or "seven (yards in length)." The meaning is uncertain, but Miles (*op. cit.*) translated this word as "scarves."

[66] Sawāsī, another uncertain word which has been taken here as a plural of Sūsī, the well-known fabric. It may, however, be the name of some kind of garment, the name having been extended from the place to a special piece of clothing, or it may even be merely the name of some type of fabric without relation to any place of origin, as we now say "damask." I have become very uncertain whether to derive this name from Sūs in Khuzistan, Sūs in North Africa, or Suez in Egypt. As this textile is of linen, and we have no reference to linen at Sūs in Khuzistan, I think that the cloth intended is Suez cloth, and that it is a trade-name for cloth exported from Egypt by this route.

[67] Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 194, has "garabi" for "'Arabī."

[68] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 63–64.

[69] Sa'di, *The Gulistān of Sa'dī*, ed. J. Platts (London, 1874), p. 82.

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colors." The duty he paid on these and other goods at Aden port amounted to the enormous sum of 300,000 dinars.[70]

Abū Makhrama[71] added that a sort of cloth called "Rūsī is sold by the ḳaṣaba, the length of the ḳaṣaba being four yards (dhirā')." Rūsī cloth is also mentioned by Mahmud Ḳārī of Yezd[72] and by 'Umarī,[73] the former also alluding here and there to the striped cloth of the Yemen (burd-i-Yaman).

Ibn al-Wardī described Aden:

> . . . jolie ville qui est l' abord des vaisseaux de l' Inde et de la Chine, et où l' on trouve toutes les productions des pays Orientaux qui y sont apportées de divers endroits, de la soie, des armes . . . des myrolabans . . . et des habits faits d' herbes, plus estimés que ceux de soie.[74]

Ibn al-Wardī may be referring to the finely plaited reed or palm fiber (I am uncertain which) made into the little caps worn under the turban by the inhabitants of the Tihāma coast; these are so finely made that they are as pliable as cloth.

Ibn Baṭūṭa remarked:

> Large ships come here (to Aden) from Cambay (Kanbāyāt), Tannah (Tāna), Quilon (Kawlam), Calicut (Ḳāliḳūt), Fandarāyina, Shāliyāt, Mangalore (Mandjarūr), Fākanwar, Onor (Hinawr), Goa (Sandābūr). Indian merchants live in this town.[75]

Some of these Indian cities mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa are cited by several Arabic sources as manufacturing or exporting textiles.

There was a vigorous trade in madder (fuwwa) exported from the Yemen to Aden by way of Mafālīs[76] between the years 600–700 H. During the Zurai'id period it was liable on import into the city to a duty of twelve dinars a buhār. Saffron and indigo were also imported and dutiable.[77] In this connection it may be added that another substance sometimes used in dyeing, myrobalan (ihlīladj), is mentioned at al-Muztaḥifa one parasang from Zabīd, on the Aden road.[78]

[70] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, text, ed. Muhammad 'Asal (Cairo-London, 1913–18), IV, 350.

[71] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 65. Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 93, noted that in India only those notables "wear garments of linen (kattān) imported from the Rūs and Alexandria whom the sultan has clothed with it."

[72] Niẓām al-Dīn Mahmud Ḳārī of Yezd, *Dīwān-i-Albisa* (Constantinople, 1303 H. [1885–86 A.D.]), pp. 9, 17, 39. For this poet see P. Horn, "Der persische Kleiderdichter Machmud Kari," *Beil. Allgem. Zeit.*, CCXXXVIII (Munich, 1900), 3–7. For Yemen cloth, *ibid.*, pp. 30, 38, 183. Rūsī seems to have been a linen cloth.

[73] See Chapter XIV.

[74] Ibn al-Wardī, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[75] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 177. For these Indian ports, Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, trans. by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1929). Still later G. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511–1574* (Urbana, Ill., 1942), p. 23, has summarized the information supplied by the European travelers of the period which he covers: "It (Aden) enjoyed a large trade with the coast of eastern Africa and Hurmuz. To the former were brought clothes, and in return the merchants carried back to Aden gold, horses, and ivory. Aden exchanged its copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, wool and silk cloths, opium, raisins, rosewater, stuffs from Mecca, ingot gold, thread, and camlets with the Indian merchants for beads, spices, drugs, rice, iron, sugar, pepper, ginger, lacquer, musk, cottons, spun and unspun, coconuts, benzoin, sandalwood, aloes, and rhubarb. The cotton ships from India were so large that they amazed the Europeans. Twenty-five was the usual number of vessels in the annual fleet carrying madder to dye clothes in Hurmuz. But not only Aden was noted for its commerce; on a smaller scale the cities of Ta'izz and Zabīd were famous for their wealth from the same sources."

[76] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 63, 60, and elsewhere.

[77] *Ibid.*, I, 59.

[78] Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 149. For myrobalan see also Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 200. H. Lammens, "La Cité arabe de Ṭaif à la veille de l'Hégire," *Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph à Beyrouth*, VIII (1922), IV, 208 quoted Burkhardt on Aden stuffs.

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The Ma'āfir in the Ta'izz district had, from the earliest times, a reputation as weavers. The Tubba' As'ad Kāmil, according to legend, the first person to cover the Kaaba,[79] is said to have hung it with Ma'āfir cloth, and the prophet's body is also said to have been wrapped in cloth from that district. Abū Dharr[80] defined the word: "Al-Ma'āfir are cloths (thiyāb) of the cloth of the Yemen." Ibn Hishām[81] related that the prophet gave an order that in the Yemen every Christian or Jew must pay a full Ma'āfir dinar, or "a length ('urḍa) of cloth." Besides Ma'āfir, striped cloths (burūd) were made in many localities, the most frequently mentioned of which are Ḳudūm[82] and Shar'ab.[83] Today Shar'ab is known for its many Jewish weavers.[84]

Zabīd, still a noted center of weaving today,[85] is described by Maḳdisī[86] as the gateway of China and the seaport of the Yemen. Its silk manufactures, as already noted, were taxed at Aden, and Khazradjī[87] included a material called Zabīdī with Bunduḳī and Mosul stuffs as being with a force proceeding along the south coast of Arabia to Ẓafār and Raisūt (*ca.* 678 H. [1280 A.D.]).

The wars plant was grown at Mudhaikhira (near Suḥūl), according to Ibn Ḥawḳal.[88] "On its slopes wars, which is a red plant of the same type as saffron, is planted. Two maunds of it are sold for a dinar, and it is used for dyeing." It is one of the products for which the Yemen is famed. Yāḳūt[89] said:

> Al-Aṣma'ī said, "There are four things which have filled the world and which are only to be found in the Yemen. These are wars, dye, frankincense (kundur) woad (khiṭr), and 'aṣb-cloth."[90] He continued, "Ibrāhīm ibn Makrama one day boasted before al-Ṣaffāḥ (132–36 H. [749–54 A.D.]) when Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was present, and this began to irk him, so he said, 'After all, you are

[79] *Encyl. Islām, Suppl.*, p. 138, Ma'āfir, and also the Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[80] Abū Dharr, *Sharḥ al-Sīra*, ed. P. Brönnle (Cairo, 1911), II, 445. Cf. Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[81] Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, II, 956. The word 'urḍa is perhaps equivalent to عرضية in Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 113, though in the reference cited there it is applied to a turban cloth. See also al-Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[82] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 39. Cf. Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[83] *Ibid.*, III, 275. Cf. Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Another place mentioned in the latter book (p. 68) is 'Abḳar: "the name of a place in the Yemen in which washī-silk is woven." M. Minovi has given me a reference to E. G. Browne, "Description of an Old Persian Commentary on the Ḳur'ân," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1894, p. 492. The MS of this Koran was probably transcribed in 628 H. (1231 A.D.), but the material is probably somewhat earlier. A note says: "'Abḳarī is said to be a town where they weave good washī-silk."

Shams al-'Ulūm (*op. cit.*) also mentioned several other types of Yemen cloth which have not been identified. One of these is (p. 35) khāl, which name also appears in *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, II, 94, and is described as a Yemen stuff striped black and red (burūd fīhā khuṭūṭ sūd wa ḥumr) from which "drawers" were made. Yet another cloth (Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 40) is muraḥḥal "one of the striped cloths (burd) of the Yemen with pictures (taṣāwīr) of 'al-riḥāl' on it." In this latter case one ought probably to read muradjdjal and ridjāl. Muradjdjal is described by Lane, *op. cit.*, I, III, 1047, as "burd upon which are the figures of men."

Ibid., I, III, 1047, quoting from native sources as in the previous case: Riḥāl are "carpets or cloths, or the like, such as are called ṭanāfis of the fabric of El-Heereh" (Al-Ḥīra in Iraq).

[84] Brauer, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and 86.

[87] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, I, 211. Bunduḳī is probably Venetian cloth. Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 405, said of Venice (Mamlakat al-Banādiḳa): "It is the source of the Venetian sheeting (? djūkh -"drap") which surpasses every kind of sheeting."

[88] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 37. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

[89] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 1036. Cf. Ibn Ḳuṭaiba al-Dīnawārī, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1925 A.D. [1343 H.]), I, 214.

[90] Abū Dharr, *op. cit.*, I, 32, said: "'Aṣb is a kind of cloth (thiyāb) of the Yemen." Cf. Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

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but tanners of hides, weavers of striped cloth (burd), keepers of monkeys, and riders of bad animals.' "

Yemen stuffs have been discovered and studied in detail. Most of the known examples are made of cotton, which was both imported and grown, at any rate in the lower Yemen, for Khazradjī [91] spoke of cotton plants ('uṭb) growing on the 'Isḳilīya plain in the Sihām district on the low western seaboard country to the north of the valleys of Zabīd and Rima', about the year 726 H. (1325 A.D.). The same author [92] recorded under the annals for the year 1392 A.D., that the inhabitants of the Wādī Zabīd and elsewhere were excused from the "growing of cotton," or, more probably, from the "tax on cotton." [93] Cotton is grown in the Yemen to this day, and in the course of the last twenty years Imam Yaḥyā's government has been making experiments with Egyptian seeds of the Sakellaridis type.[94]

Pfister [95] has discussed Yemen stuffs: "L' effet flammé est obtenu par le procédé de l'Ikat qui a peut-être pris son origine en Arabie et qui a trouvé son plus grand développement dans les isles de la Malaisie et au Camboge." He cited a piece of Yemenite material from the Musée Arabe which is embroidered with the name of al-Muḳtadir. The ṭirāz-bearing textiles illustrated by N. P. Britton [96] seem, in several respects, similar to the present-day fūṭas of the Yemen, which also have the ikat; there also seems to be a certain resemblance in the woven patterns and the finish of the ends of the material after it is taken off the loom. In the larger cities it is possible that nearly identical types of cloth still in actual use and manufacture might yet be found. A description of the loom employed in South Arabia to this day is given by F. M. Hunter.[97]

From the sparse documentary evidence at present available it is not possible to form an adequate conception of the commercial activity in the cities of the southern coast farther to the east than Aden, but there is little doubt that they had an importance which was more than merely local. Marco Polo [98] mentioned the im-

[91] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, III, 45. This text, however, seems to be somewhat corrupt.

[92] *Ibid.*, IV, 229.

[93] For مصاحلة العطب "the growing of cotton" of the existing text, I propose to read مصادرة العطب, "the tax on cotton."

[94] These experiments are commented upon by Nazīh Mu'aiyad al-'Aẓm, *Riḥla fi 'l-Bilād al-'Arabīya al-Sa'īdīya* (Cairo, 1937). Brauer, *op. cit.*, p. 246, said: "In Jemen ist die Weberei allerdings auch unter den Arabern weit verbreitet, besonders in den Gebieten, die eine Baumwollkultur besitzen."

[95] R. Pfister, "Matériaux pour servir au classement des textiles égyptiens postérieurs à la conquête arabe," *Rev. des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), 78. See further the article of M. P. Verneuil, "L'Ikat et les tissus ikatés des Indes orientales," *Rev. des art asiatiques*, III (1926), 123. Pfister also mentioned an article by Iklé, "Über Flammentücher," *Festschr. f. Marie Andrée Eysn* (1928).

Pfister noted that according to Pliny, cotton grew in Arabia.

[96] N. P. Britton, *A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles* (Boston, 1938), pp. 72–75, Pls. 91 and 92. Mrs. Britton also gave (p. 74) a list of sources where Yemen textiles have been discussed. Cf. also her "Pre-Mameluke Ṭirāz in the Newberry Collection," *Ars Islamica*, IX (1942), 166. For a fūṭa similar to these ancient weaves, see H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia* (London, 1923), pl. facing p. 206. Without doubt the patterns of these fūṭas are of great antiquity. Local custom lays down the colors and types of cloth which men and women may wear. The mountain tribes mostly wear cotton fūṭas dyed with indigo. Nowadays the Yemenites mainly wear white. Where colored fūṭas are worn each tribe seems to prefer a special type. Many materials are still made locally, but there is an import of Syrian and Indian silks, and Indonesian textiles.

[97] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[98] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, trans. by H. Yule (London, 1875), II, 278. Stripling, *op. cit.*, p. 23, referring to a later period, described the trade of Shiḥr, the most important city of the kingdom of Fartak, "It had a great trade in wares from Cambay, Chaul, Dabul, Baticala, and Malabar. Coarse and fine cotton

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ports of cotton at Shiḥr. Ibn al-Mudjāwir [99] quoted by Guest, stated that about the year 618 H. (1221 A.D.) there was a road from Baghdad to Raisūt by which caravans used to bring Baghdad fabrics and take back Indian products. The duties paid on Ẓafār cloth at Aden in the twelfth century have already been noted, and Ibn al-Mudjāwir [100] spoke of the cloth taken back from there to Baghdad by the caravans. Ibn Baṭūṭa [101] said of this port: "Their garments are of cotton which is imported to them from India . . . They make beautiful silk (ḥarīr), cotton, and linen stuffs there."

On the authority of an earlier author, Ḳalḳashandī [102] gave the following note on the liberal attitude of the rulers of the Yemen toward the arts:

> The kings of the Yemen import continually from Egypt and Syria (Miṣr wa 'l-Shām) numbers of craftsmen and traders (arbāb al-ṣinā'āt wa 'l-baḍā'i') with their wares of various kinds. The pre-eminent cadi Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaimān b. al-Ṣadr Sulaimān said, "The lord of this realm ever wishes strangers, receives them well, and gives them (official) employment according as is suitable to each of them."

This statement is borne out by the numerous names which indicate a foreign origin in the histories of the medieval Yemen.

This chapter should not close without a note on the "Dragon's Blood" (dam al-akhawain) produced at Sokotra. It is mentioned by the anonymous author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* by a contemporary of the prophet,[103] and by many other writers.

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stuffs, jewels, ... were exchanged at Shiḥr for horses and wormwood. Ẓafār, its nearest rival, also maintained a considerable trade with the Indian merchants, especially in cottons and rice." Today, Shiḥr is an important center of cotton weaving. The cotton is mostly imported, but the plant grows in the Hadramaut, and yarn was at one time made from it. Some silk is also woven in Shiḥr.

[99] R. Guest, "Zufar in the Middle Ages," *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1935), IX, III, 405. See Sprenger, *op. cit.,* p. 144.

[100] Sprenger, *op. cit.,* p. 146: "Es gab einen sichern Weg von Baghdad nach Mirbāṭ und Ẓafār, auf welchem die Beduinen zweimal im Jahre Pferde nach Yemen brachten und dafür Rosenwasser ('iṭr) und Kleidungsstoffe (bazz) mit nach Iraq zurücknahmen."

[101] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages,* II, 198–99.

[102] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.,* V, 36; for an account of the dress of the officials of the country see *ibid.,* V, 34.

[103] See, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt,* II, 358, and *Encyl. Islām,* IV, 476–81, "Soḳoṭrā." At the present time woolen strips are woven in Sokotra in grays and browns. They are known locally as Suḳuṭrawīya.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE I

Ḳalḳashandī (*op. cit.,* I, 410–11) has an interesting article entitled "The Famous Markets of the Pre-Islamic Arabs," which has probably been extracted bodily from some much earlier book, but without acknowledgment. From internal evidence it is clear that the earlier author utilized by Ḳalḳashandī was drawing on fairly reliable material. At any rate it is probable that the author of this passage, if my surmise is correct, had sources at his disposal as reliable as those used by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* for the pre-Islamic period, and quoted here: "The Arabs had markets (sūḳ) which they used to set up during the (various) months of the year. They used to go from the one to the other, and all of the Arab tribes, from near or afar, attended them. They would encamp at Dūmat al-Djandal on the first of (the month) Rabī' al-Awwal to set up their fairs for buying and selling and interchange of commerce. Ukaidir of Dūma used to tax them one-tenth there (reading here and throughout this passage يعشرهم for يعشوهم), for he was the king of Dūma; but sometimes (the) Kalb (tribe) obtained possession of the market—then one of the Kalb chiefs would take the tax from them. Their fair would last there until the end of the month, then in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir, they would go to the market of Hadjar at Bahrein, and their fairs would be (held) there. At this market al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, one of the Banū Abdallah b. Dārim, the king of Bahrein, would tax them one-tenth. Then from Bahrein also, they would travel to Oman where their fair would take place. Thence they would go, to encamp at Iram and the villages of Shiḥr of the Yemen, where fairs would be set up for some days. They would next go and stop at Aden of the Yemen from which they bought perfumes (laṭīma) and various sorts of scent (ṭīb). After this they would take their way to

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CHAPTER XVI
EGYPTIAN TEXTILES

INDICATIONS ARE NOT LACKING TO SHOW THAT the Arabs, before they overran the Near East, were well acquainted with, and prized Egyptian stuffs (Maps 2 and 3). The Coptic textiles (Ḳubāṭī) with which Omar and Othman used to cover the Kaaba, have already been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] This cloth must, I think, have come from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories, in which the weavers, even under Muslim domination were Copts. It is likely that this Coptic cloth was imported into the Hejaz for several hundred years before Muhammad; the holy cities were supplied with corn from Egypt by way of Jidda. Maḳrīzī spoke of a Ḳubāṭī covering for the Kaaba made at Shaṭā in the time of Harun al-Rashid,[2] which is virtual proof that this was what the Arab writers understood by the term, though it need not have been applied exclusively to the products of this group of factories.

Nor was Rashid the first of the Abbasid monarchs to use this material, for Azraḳī[3] recorded that al-Mahdī covered the Kaaba with "Ḳubāṭī, and khazz silk and brocade." Ma'mūn, in 206 H. (821 A.D.) asked the postmaster of Mecca what the best type of cover for the Kaaba was, because it was discovered that the covers wore away too quickly. After his time, the Sacred House was given three coverings—first, red brocade (dībādj), then Ḳubāṭī, then white brocade.[4] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi confirmed this:

> When the season for the meeting of the pilgrims at Mecca (al-Mawsim) drew nigh, it (the Kaaba) was covered with Ḳubāṭī, which is white Khurāsānī, brocade. It is this covering (kiswa) that the people wore as iḥrāms (the pilgrim garb of simple white cloth). When the people had accomplished the pilgrimage, that is, on the day called Yawm al-Naḥr, the house was stripped and

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visit Hadramaut of the land of the Yemen. Some, on the other hand, used to omit (calling) there, and go (straight) to San'a to hold fairs where they traded for its kharaz (beads, gems, or shells of the type called wada', "cowries"), leatherware (adam), and striped cloaks (burūd) which were exported to San'a from Ma'āfir. In the Sacred Months they proceeded to (the fair of) 'Ukāẓ where markets were held, chanting verses to one another and engaging in disputation. Whosoever had a (fellow tribesman) a prisoner, sought to ransom him, and whosoever had a case, would bring it before (the person) who had the right of judgment. The last person to hold this right was al-Aḳra' b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī. Then they would stop at 'Arafa and perform the rites of the pilgrimage, after which they would return to their native lands, arriving in safety and with great profit."

I have altered the reading in this passage because it does not make sense as it stands, and because in the Yemen of today and the Aden Protectorate a market tax is an ancient established custom. If kharaz in the context here means "beads" it would be evidence of the existence of glass manufacture in this part of Arabia before Islam.

In an article which has appeared since I wrote this chapter, F. Krenkow ("The Annual Fairs of the Pagan Arabs," *Islamic Culture*, XXI [Hyderabad, 1947], 111–13), drew attention to very early versions of this passage which I am not able to consult at present. An article however in *Al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīya*, I, III (Batavia, 1347 H.), 121, entitled "Li 'l-Tārīkh" mentions this itinerary without citing sources. Here D bā is substituted for Iram, and the author stated that after visiting Aden, the traders went to Al-Rābiya in Hadramaut. D bā may be the place marked Dhuba on the maps near Shiḥr, and this would certainly suit the text better.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE II

Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 45, spoke of a pre-Islamic king of the Yemen who reigned in his capital of San'a, anterior to the Sasanid monarch Sābūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf (Shāpūr II, 310–79 A.D.). He said this was the first Yemenite king to raid Rūm and to introduce silk (ḥarīr) and brocade (dībādj) to the Yemen. Is this a faint and distorted recollection of the expedition of Aelius Gallus?

[1] See Chapter 1.

[2] Egyptian textiles for the reign of Harun al-Rashid are known, and the list of dated Egypto-Arabic textiles in J. M. Upton's "Dated Egypto-Arabic Textiles in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts," *Metropolitan Mus. Studies*, III (1930–31), 158–73, should be consulted.

[3] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 182 (Azraḳī).

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

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covered with red Khurāsānī brocade on which there were rings (? dārāt) with "Ḥamd Allāh wa-tasbīḥuhu wa-ta'ẓīmuhu" written therein. Thus it remained until the following year.[5]

This passage raises some difficulties, always supposing that the reading of the text is correct.[6] Perhaps he calls this Coptic cloth Khurāsānī because he was thinking of the plain white cloth of Merv.

Taghrībirdī [7] stated that in the eleventh year of his reign (396 H. [1006 A.D.]) al-Ḥākim, the Fatimid ruler of Egypt covered the Kaaba with white Ḳubāṭī. It was generally from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories that the Kaaba-covers (kiswa) were supplied, and even as late as this, their manufactures were known by this name. By Ḳubāṭī, then, can be understood a white linen cloth from Tinnīs, Shaṭā, and Dabḳū (which I have assumed is the same place as Dabḳā and Dabīḳ), Tūna, Dumaira,[8] or Dīfū, and others of lesser note, not even mentioned by these authors; and these linens were sometimes brocaded. Both Shaṭā and Dabḳū were textile centers in Byzantine times.

The passage of Djāḥiẓ in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* [9] which implies that there were ṭirāz factories in Egypt as early as Omar, the second caliph, seems anachronistic, but Egyptian fabrics were used by the Umayyad caliphs, for 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān said one day to his companions: "What napkins are the noblest kind?" Someone said: "The napkins (mandīl) of Miṣr which are like the white skin inside eggshells." Others said: "The napkins of Yemen which are like the blossoms of Spring." [10] It is probable that the Umayyads were sent these Egyptian stuffs with the tribute, for Balādhurī [11] noted that the inhabitants of Miṣr (Egypt) were required to supply the Muslims with a woolen upper gown (djubba ṣūf), an upper cloak (burnus) or turban ('imāma), trousers (sarāwīl), and a pair of shoes a year. Instead of the djubba, a Coptic garment (Ḳibṭī) might be provided. Von Falke, too, discussed Byzantine institutions in this part of the world, with some resemblance to the ṭirāz system, and a Coptic textile from Dabīḳ has been found by archeologists.

In the *Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tijāra*, Djāḥiz [12] merely said: "From Egypt come well-paced asses, fine garments, paper (ḳirṭās), balm oil, and, from al-Ma'dan (the mine), splendid topaz." He thought that "the best robes (aksiya) are of Egyptian wool." Egyptian cloaks are mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh [13] among other precious articles which merchants used in trade. Miskawaihī [14] talked of a "djubba of Egyptian wool" (317 H. [929 A.D.]), and in 355 H. (966 A.D.) he mentioned a caravan carrying 1,500 bales of bro-

[5] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 270.

[6] Possibly, Khusrawānī should be read for Khurāsānī, though this reading is borne out by the quotation from Azraḳī translated in Appendix II.

[7] Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, "Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī's Annals, al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira," ed. W. Popper, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Semitic Philol.*, II (1909), 100.

[8] For the pronunciation of this name see *Encyl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913-38), IV, 785–93.

[9] See Chapter I.

[10] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1285 H. [1868–9 A.D.]), XVIII, 164, Cf. *ibid.*, XX, 50. See also E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), I, V, 2020, عرقى

[11] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 215, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 338. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]).

[12] Djāḥiz, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 342 and 337.

[13] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

[14] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, I, 197, trans., IV, 221.

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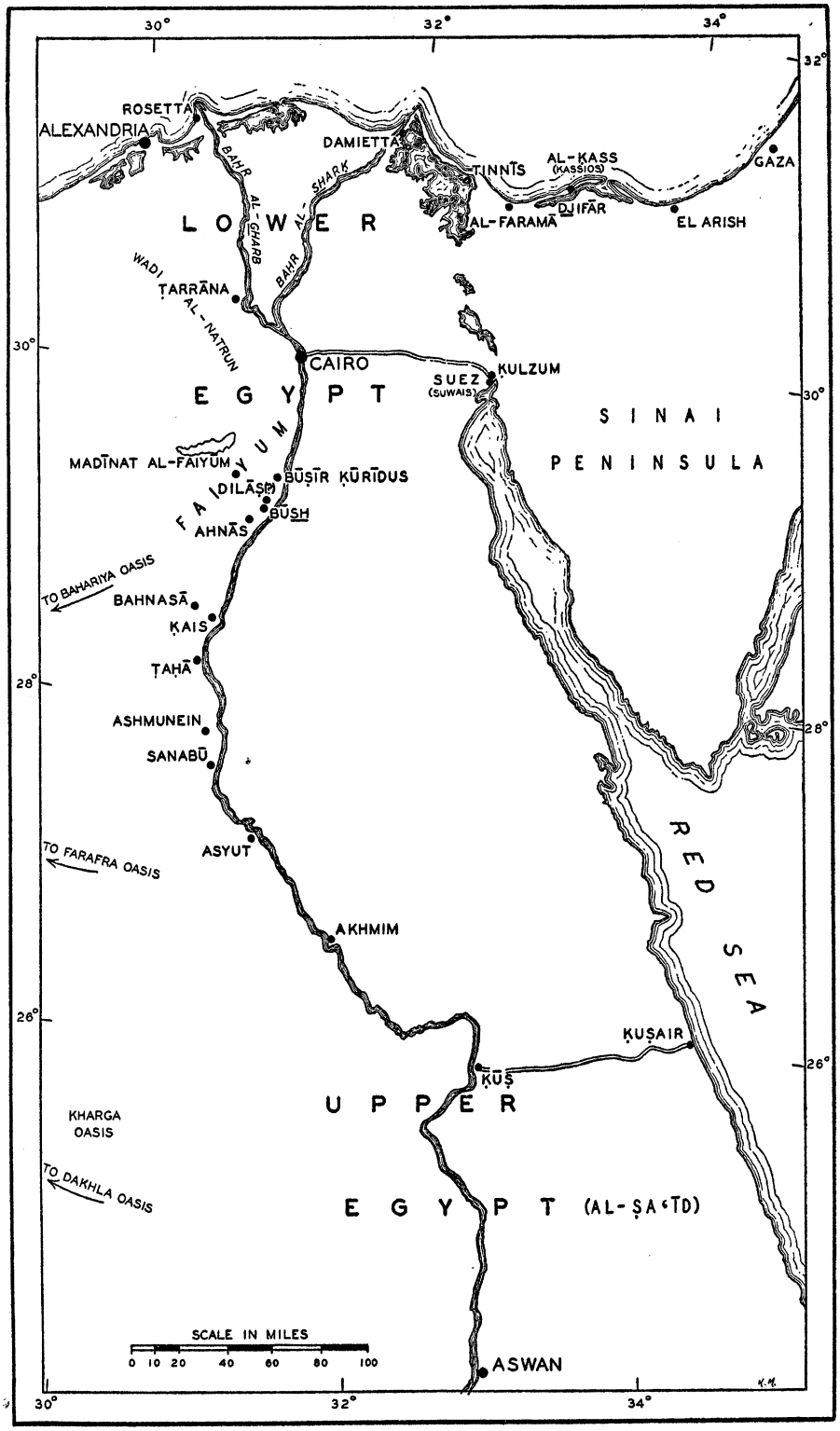

MAP 2. EGYPT

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caded linen (dikḳ) to Mecca, the name of the fabric being the same as that which is said to have been produced in Egypt in Omar's time.[15] Again, a cadi of Baghdad (385 H. [995 A.D.]) had a thousand garments of Egyptian wool (ṣūf al-Miṣr).[16]

The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[17] gives the following list of products:

It produces textiles (djāma), handkerchiefs (dastār), and robes (ridā') of various kinds, than which there are none more precious in the whole world—such as Egyptian woolen goods and textiles and handkerchiefs made of Dabīḳī (and?) khazz-silk.

The fine linen known as ḳaṣab is quoted by Tha'ālibī[18] in a list of precious stuffs enumerated by a wit at the court of 'Aḍud al-Dawla.

Part I

THE TINNĪS–DAMIETTA GROUP

An early notice of a Dabīḳī napkin is to be found in the *Aghānī* under the biography of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, the well-known singer who was a favorite of Ma'mūn;[19] the same singer found al-Mu'taṣim wearing a Dabīḳī shirt (ḳamīs) which looked as if it had been cut out of the planet Venus.[20] A record contemporary with Ma'mūn of conditions among the workers in Tinnīs,[21] as witnessed by the Christian patriarch Dionysius when on a visit to Egypt about the year 200 H. (815 A.D.), states:

Although Tinnīs has a considerable population and numerous churches, we have never witnessed greater distress than that of its inhabitants. When we enquired into the cause of it, they replied: "Our town is encompassed by water. We can neither look forward to a harvest nor can we maintain a flock. Our drinking water comes from afar and costs us four dirhams a pitcher. Our work is in the manufacture of linen which our women spin and we weave. We get from the dealers half a dirham per day. Although our earning is not sufficient for the bread of our mouths we are taxed for tribute and pay five dinars a head in taxes. They beat us, imprison us, and compel us to give our sons and daughters as securities. For every dinar they have to work two years as slaves.

This passage doubtless refers to the hard conditions which were imposed by the ṭirāz system on weavers—a kind of corvée it would seem, according to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw and others.[22] It is a curious omission on the part of the *Djirāb al-Dawla* that no textiles are given as coming from Egypt to the caliphs in Baghdad along with the tribute. The ṭirāz factories there may have been the private property of the Abbasid monarchs and never have been reckoned as state revenue-producing concerns.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[23] declared to the Iṣfahānis:

By Allah, I do not see a garment of red (shuḳairī) Dabīḳī, nor one of Dabḳāwī[24] . . . nor garments of ḳaṣab of Samannūd (?), Damsīs (?), Tinnīs and Damietta . . . nor yet 'Attābī Dabīḳī with borders embroidered with gold (mu'lam muthaḳḳal), on the body of a single one of you.

[15] *Ibid.*, text, II, 215, trans., V, 228. This is not a very common word. See Chapter I, footnote 16, and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), and the glossary to the *B.G.A.*

[16] *Op. cit.*, text, II, 262, trans., VI, 278.

[17] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 151.

[18] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 132.

[19] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, V, 424.

[20] *Ibid.*, V, 345.

[21] J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien . . . 1166–1199* (Paris, 1899), trans., III, 63. (Reference from A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth [London, 1937]).

[22] See Chapter II and the passage quoted from the *Safar-nāma* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *infra*.

[23] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 35.

[24] From Dabḳā. Samannūd and Damsīs are conjectural emendations for the unknown words سموت and دسيس. Both of these Egyptian cities were noted for their manufacture of linen. The explanation of the term 'Attābī Dabīḳī has been attempted in Chapter II, ii, footnote 54.

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Gold-embroidered pillows (makhādd) were not to be seen in the furnishings of their houses. Speaking of Baghdad, the same author noted:

> The people wash their hands and he hands them a napkin (mandīl) of Mutawakkilī (that is, after the style of the Caliph Mutawakkil's fabrics—a mulḥam stuff ?), Dabīḳī of a velvet texture (mukhmal), which is light and embroidered with a ṭirāz border of Egyptian manufacture, with two ornamented borders ('alam), and two bands (zunnār), and two patterns of fine thread (daḳīḳ al-silk) of perfect length and lovely width, short of pile, bordered with a fringed (? mashḳūḳ) border, softer than ḳazz silk and pleasanter to the touch than khazz silk—such are the attributes of the tables of Iraq, none of which, by Allah, do I see with you.[25]

These two passages if we are to consider the rhetoric of the satirist seriously would indicate that the Egyptian fabrics were little imported into Persia.

The Abbasid caliphs made considerable use of these Dabīḳī materials. Mas'ūdī [26] stated that Mu'taḍid (279–89 H. [892–902 A.D.]) "ordered the keepers of his wardrobe (khuzzān) to choose the best of the Sūs and Dabīḳī stuffs so as to keep them aside for himself." Al-Muḳtafī, his successor, is noted by Usāma ibn Munḳidh [27] as wearing a Damietta garment. Al-Hilāl al-Sābi' wrote of a table covered with Dabīḳī at one of Ibn Furāt's social gatherings (*ca.* 300 H. [912 A.D.]) [28] and again, in the vizierate of Ali ibn 'Īsā, he mentioned a precious red (shuḳairī) Dabīḳī shirt.[29] The material seems to have been used for all kinds of furnishings. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [30] spoke of Baghdad pleasure boats which were decked out with embroidered Dabīḳī (Dabīḳī muṭarraz) with awnings of gold-embroidered Dabīḳī (aghshiyatuhā Dabīḳī mudhhab) in the year 305 H. (917 A.D.). He also mentioned an ebony throne upholstered (farasha) with Dabīḳī, embroidered with gold (muṭarraz bi 'l-dhahab).[31]

Tanūkhī [32] gave an example of another of the many uses to which the Dabīḳī cloth was put. A man who had dealings with Muḳtadir's mother, said:

> I used to buy for her Dabīḳī cloth called sandal cloth because it was close-woven (or coarse) and cut in sizes like sandals made by a cobbler, and then steeped in musk and molten ambergris, and when hardened, was inserted between two layers of stuff in quantities sufficient to sustain it. We used to fabricate numerous pieces of this sort and pack them together and then gum them together with pieces of ambergris, and stick them together so that they become one piece. We used to make the first layer white and polished and sew silk around, and furnish it with straps like the straps which are plaited out of leather . . . he added that the queen mother's sandals were of this material and that she never wore a pair more than ten days or thereabout, by which time it would show signs of wear and begin to crumble, meaning the loss of several dinars which it had cost. When cast off by the queen mother it would be taken by the keepers or others who would extract the musk and ambergris and appropriate them.

Tanūkhī [33] noted that a certain man of Baghdad had so many clothes that each kind required a number of boxes, for example, the Dabīḳī shirts (durrā'a) were kept separate from those of brocade. This author also mentioned "a Dabīḳī robe of Shustar costing two hundred dinars." [34] If the term is not one of

[25] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[26] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VIII, 115.

[27] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 173, trans., I, 205.

[28] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, 1904), p. 240.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

[30] G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Bagdadh d'Aboû Bakr Aḥmad ibn Thâbit al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdhî* (Paris, 1904), text, p. 53, trans., p. 138.

[31] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 55., trans., p. 140.

[32] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1921), text, p. 143. ff., trans., pp. 156–57.

[33] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 190, trans., p. 208.

[34] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 29, trans., p. 31.

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mere loose application, it would seem that this type of manufacture had even established itself in Khuzistan (*ca.* 327–84 H. [929–94 A.D.]).

The *Fihrist*[35] under the name Ḳurra ibn Ḳ mīṭā al-Ḥarrānī records that "this person made a map (ṣifa) of the world and Thābit ibn Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī copied it. I have seen this map on cloth of raw Dabīḳī (thiyāb Dabīḳī khām) in color (iṣbāgh), the dye having been waxed." This evidently refers to the process of dyeing with wax which has been studied by Pfister in textiles from Egypt of an early period. The technique may be connected with that of early Egyptian portraits of the Ptolemaic dynasty painted by the encaustic process. The *Fihrist* was written in 378 H. (988 A.D.).

In recording the events of the year 379 H. (989 A.D.), Miskawaihī[36] described a barge carpeted with Dabīḳī, above which there was embroidered red cloth of brocade (miḳrama dībādj ḥamrā' manḳūsha), whereas the saloon was carpeted with yellow brocade and covered with embroidered Dabīḳī (miḳrama Dabīḳīya). Ibn Khalliḳān[37] related that al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, who died in the year 488 H. (1095 A.D.), left, among other things, 500 chests of royal clothing (kiswa li 'l-khāṣṣa), consisting of the brocade (diḳḳ) of Tinnīs and Damietta.

The *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (written before 570 H. [1175 A.D.]) has a special notice devoted to those two fabrics:

Dabīḳī and Sharb

People's tastes vary in regard to the ṭirāz borders and the ornamented embroideries (ruḳūm, inscriptions ?), but they are agreed in the preference of that which is of the finest thread, and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red, and golden; and, where Dabīḳī is concerned, whatever is beautiful even if raw (khām); but when it is compressed[38] it is not esteemed.

Merchants make mistakes about this kind of cloth, so that it is necessary, where that is concerned, to refer back to the knowledge of the country where it is manufactured, for it (the country) is well known to people of experience. These descriptions will allow us to dispense with describing linen cloth, both the raw (or unbleached khām), and the compressed kinds, for the praiseworthy qualities of both are the same.[39]

THE GEOGRAPHERS

A continuous series of records of the manufacturers of Tinnīs and Damietta is preserved by the geographers. Ya'ḳūbī (278 H. [891 A.D.]) said:

Tinnīs is an ancient city in which valuable garments of Dabīḳī and ḳaṣab (linen) are made, of close texture and fine, as well as striped cloaks (burūd) and stuffs of a velvet texture (mukhmal), figured stuffs (washī), and other kinds of cloth. It has a port for ships coming from Syria and the Maghreb. Then there is the town of Shaṭā which is on the seacoast, and the Shaṭawī garments are made there. Then comes the town of Damietta in which garments and sharb-linen and ḳaṣab cloths are made; then comes Būra where cloth and paper (ḳarāṭīs) are manufactured.[40]

Ibn Rusta[41] merely mentioned Tinnīs as an island where splendid cloth is made. Ibn al-

[35] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel and J. Roediger (Leipzig, 1871–72), I, 285.

[36] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, text, III, 152, trans., VI, 160.

[37] *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), I, 614. *Dictionnaire biographique d'Ibn Kallikan, texte arabe* (Paris, 1838), p. 313.

[38] Reading ma'ṣūr for the maḳṣūr of the text. Cf. al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.*, p. 240, and other places. The precise significance of this fairly common word is uncertain.

[39] Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 26. For the date of this work, see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar–Berlin, 1898–1902), Suppl. Bd. (Leyden, 1937–39), I, 907, and *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisba* of Ibn *al-Ukhuwwa*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Memorial Ser. (=G.M.S.), n.s., XII, xv. ff.

[40] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān*, *B.G.A.*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), VII, 337.

[41] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 90.

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Faḳīh [42] stated that Egypt was specially noted for its cloth above all other articles: "They have Dabīḳī and Shaṭawī cloth, ḳaṣab, linen of the gold-embroidered (mawzūn) and plain (muyassar) kinds, and other varieties of linen robes and wool [43] . . . and Tinnīs and Alexandrine stuffs." Mas'ūdī [44] compared a miṭraf of red khazz silk to Dabīḳī stuffs.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi said: "Tinnīs garments are called after it. It has a ṭirāz factory belonging to the caliph. Dabīḳ has Dabīḳī stuffs called after it. Shaṭā has Shaṭawī stuff named after it." [45]

Iṣṭakhrī [46] merely said that Egyptian cloth is made in the cities of Tinnīs and Damietta (340 H. [951 A.D.]), but Ibn Ḥawḳal [47] related rather more:

> Among their large cities and native products peculiar to them alone, is that which is peculiar to Tinnīs and Damietta. They are two islands between the salt and the sweet water. . . . Fine linen (kattān) garments of sharb and Dabīḳī, dyed stuffs (muṣabbaghāt), consisting of Tinnīs striped cloaks (ḥulla) which nothing on earth can approach for price and beauty, softness and luxury, thinness and fineness, are to be found manufactured there. Sometimes a single cloak (ḥulla) of their cloth will fetch two hundred dinars when it contains gold. One without gold sometimes fetches a hundred dinars, more or less. Everything manufactured there is of linen, and sometimes the weight of a mithḳāl of its thread will fetch several dinars. Although Shaṭā, Dabḳuwā, Dumaira, and Tūna, and the adjoining islands have valuable articles of these kinds manufactured in them, yet those cannot approach the Tinnīsī, Dimyāṭī, and the Shaṭawī, a load of which, in our times, fetches from twenty thousand dinars to thirty thousand for the supply of Iraq. This has stopped through exactions (placed on the industry), and the person who was chiefly responsible for that was the cursed Abu 'l-Faradj ibn Killis, the vizier of al-'Azīz (365–86 H. [975–96 A.D.]), for he eradicated it by vexatious impositions, exactions, and continued severity on the workers so that he even put a tax on those entering and leaving Tinnīs. There is more than one fine ṭirāz factory in Egypt which will be mentioned in its place.

Of this vizier Maḳrīzī [48] said: "His position became so high that his name was written on the ṭirāz borders and in the books." This latter phrase almost certainly refers to the ṭirāz stamp on the papyrus. The same author noted: "In one day, the revenue of Tinnīs, Damietta, and Ashmunein was 220,000 dinars. This was unheard of in any other country, and continued until Muḥarram 365 H. (975 A.D.)."

Isḥāḳ ibn Husain (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.])[49] also knew of the ṭirāz factory belonging to the sultan in Tinnīs, where they make various valuable kinds of robes. Al-Kindī [50] said: "There is not a ṭirāz factory in the world of which a simple garment (thawb sādhidj) without any gold fetches a hundred dinars except the cloth of Tinnīs and Damietta. The Persian geographer of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [51] noted "Tinnīs and Damietta . . . produce woolen and linen stuffs of very high price."

Maḳdisī (375 H. [985 A.D.]) described Tinnīs thus:

[42] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[43] I suggest the renderings of "gold-embroidered and plain" for the above terms, equivalent to muthaḳḳal and sādhidj, which are to be found in later authors.

[44] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VII, 270.

[45] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, IV., 268.

[46] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum* . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 50.

[47] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus geographicum*, ed J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 152 ff.

[48] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), II, 6. See J. von Karabaček, "Zur Orientalischen Altertumskunde, I. Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle," *Sitz. Ber. phil.-hist. Kl., Akad., Wien,* CLXI (1909), 25. A successor when designated, had his name placed on the textiles, robes of honor, and the papyrus rolls.

[49] Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Mardjān,* ed. A. Codazzi, *Rend. d. r. accad. naz. dei Lincei,* ser. sesta, V (1929), 404.

[50] Al-Kindī, *Faḍā'il al-Miṣr,* extracts in Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Aegypti et Africae,* III (Leyden, 1928), II, 638. The date is *ca.* 340 H. (950 A.D.)

[51] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 151.

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It is Baghdad the lesser, a very mountain of gold, the emporium of the East and West. . . . Most of its inhabitants are Copts. . . . Cloth and colored cloaks (ridā') are made there. . . . Damietta possesses more skilled workmen, and more precious cloth than Tinnīs. . . . Shaṭā is inhabited by Copts, and the cloth is named after it. . . . From Tinnīs, but not Damietta come colored garments, and from Damietta linen (ḳaṣab). . . . Imposts are heavy (in Egypt), especially at Tinnīs, Damietta, and the Nile bank. Now, concerning Shaṭawī cloth, it is impossible for a Copt to weave any unless the stamp of the sultan has been placed upon it. Nor can it be sold except through the intermediary of brokers who have been entrusted with this function, and the sultan's officer writes down what has been sold in his notebook. Then it is taken to someone to wrap it up, then to another to be tied up in wrappings (ḳishr), then to another to be packed in chests (safaṭ), then to another to rope it, each of these men having a due to take. Then at the harbour gates a certain sum is taken. Each one writes his mark on the chest, and then the vessels are inspected at the time of sailing.[52]

There were similar dues to be paid at Alexandria on vessels. According to Maḳdisī again:

At Jidda, on every chest of Shaṭawī three dinars are taken, and on every chest of Dabīḳī, two dinars, on every load of wool, two dinars. At 'Aththar, on every load, a dinar. . . . At Bāb Zabīd, on every load of cloth half a dinar.[53]

It is likely that these stuffs may have gone to Iraq by sea when the land route was perilous.

Benjamin of Tudela,[54] the well-known Jewish traveler of the time of Caliph al-Mustarshid, mentioned "Damietta, which is Caphtor, where there are about two hundred Jews." These Jews cannot have been dyers as they usually were in Muslim countries, for in Damietta we learn that no dyed stuffs were made, so they must have been traders or agents of some kind. It might be added here that Damietta was one of the ports of entry for Egypt and all the geographers notice the Frankish ships that used to come here to trade with the hinterland. Benjamin also mentioned that there were 700 Jews at Dumaira, who might have been engaged in this trade.[55]

The Syriac historian Bar Hebræus,[56] related that the Genoese in the year 1110 A.D. took from Arab ships which they captured, coming from Tinnīs and Damietta, "fifty loads of bales of Damietta cloth."

The well known passages from Nāṣir-i-Khusraw on the products of the Egyptian factories are really enlightening (438 H. [1047 A.D.]):

Tinnīs makes colored ḳaṣab (rangīn) used for turbans, headdresses (wiḳāya), and women's clothing. Nowhere else is such fine ḳaṣab made as at Tinnīs. White ḳaṣab is made at Damietta; the ḳaṣab woven in the sulṭān's workshop (kārgāh) is neither sold nor given to anyone. I have heard that the ruler of Fars (one of the Buwaihids) had sent 20,000 dinars to Tinnīs to buy a complete set of royal robes (yak-dast djāma-yi-khāṣṣ). His agents stayed several years in the town without being able to manage this transaction. There are famous weavers there who weave the royal robes. I was told that one of them had woven a piece of cloth designed for the turban of the sultan (dastār). He received for this piece of work the sum of 500 Maghribī dinars. I have seen this turban. It is estimated to be worth 4,000 Maghribī dinars.

It is at Tinnīs, and nowhere else that they make the stuff called Būḳalamūn, the color of which changes according to the different hours of the day. It is exported to the countries of the East and West. The Greek sultan, they say, sent a person to offer a hundred towns for Tinnīs. This was refused. His wish was to procure ḳaṣab and Būḳalamūn from it." [57]

The population of the town in his day was

[52] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d. ed., 1906), III, 201 ff, 203, 213.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[54] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans., p. 77.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[56] E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), p. 244.

[57] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed., and trans. by C. Schefer, *Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau, Publ. de l'école des langues orientales vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1881), II sér., I, trans., pp. 110–13, text, p. 36 ff.

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50,000 males, and a thousand boats lay always in the harbor, some belonging to merchants, but most belonged to the sultan. All the necessities had to be carried to it because it produced nothing. He continued:

"The ḳaṣab and Būḳalamūn made for the sultan are paid for at their exact value; thus the workmen work willingly for him, as by contrast to the other countries where the government and the sovereign impose forced labor on the artisans. There are woven in Būḳalamūn the covers for litters (djāma-yi-'imārī) which are placed on camels and saddlecloths (namad-zīn) destined for the private use of the sultan. At Tinnīs iron objects are manufactured also. . . .

This Būḳalamūn stuff is mentioned by the earlier Djāḥiẓ:

Abū Ḳalamūn is one of the crimson-colored, Greek, kingly textiles (zalālī Khusrawānī Rūmī ḳirmizī), with various lines (or striped khuṭūṭ, the reference here, in the light of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw doubtless, being to the lines of the warp and the woof). Violet (banafsadjī, thread) is crossed with red and green. They say that it changes its color with the ascendent of the day, and the glare of the sun. It is very expensive to buy.[58]

The name of this cloth might imply that it was introduced from the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire in Sasanian times. The word itself, Būḳalamūn, is derived from the Greek,[59] and this crimson dye seems to have come from Armenia in particular. The name Khusrawānī seems to imply that this was one of the textiles used by the ancient Sasanian monarchs. Perhaps the material was manufactured in Persia by workmen who were transferred there by these sovereigns from the Armenian area. The stuff was also known to Mas'ūdī [60] who compared it to the stone of the same name (jasper) which, he says, shows different colors, red, green, and yellow. The variation is due to the lustre of the jewel and the different aspects from which one perceives it. The varying colors in the jewel are like the colors of a peacock's feathers.

Perhaps Nāṣir was thinking of his native country Persia when he mentioned the forced labor of the artisans; this helps to throw some light on the regulations for the ṭirāz system there. This state of affairs is greatly different from the period of Dionysius. As Nāṣir did not remark that the weavers were Copts, it might be perhaps implied that they had become Muslims, and certainly the conversion would free them of the poll tax which had proved so burdensome in the second century.

Bakrī [61] (sixth century H. [eleventh century A.D.]) spoke of the island of Dabḳū, near Tinnīs, where they made Dabīḳī stuff. Idrīsī seems to have copied Ibn Ḥawḳal's account or his source:

In Tinnīs and Damietta are stuffs made of Dabīḳī and sharb, as well as dyed stuffs (muṣabbaghāt) consisting of Tinnīs cloaks (ḥulla), which cannot be approached by anything in the whole world for beauty and value. A single garment when embroidered in gold is sometimes worth a thousand dinars, and a garment without gold is worth a hundred or two hundred or thereabout. The principal stuff (aṣl) in these robes is linen. As for those which are made at Shaṭā, Dabḳū, and Dumaira in the neighborhood of these islands, they are doubtless very fine, but they do not approach those of Tinnīs and Damietta. . . . As regards Damietta, it is a town built by the seashore, but at a certain distance away from the sea. They make wonderful stuffs and Dabīḳīya, and others which, for perfection of workmanship approach those of Tinnīs. . . .

Dumaira [62] (in the district of Shirbīn) is a little town where they make pretty stuffs for export, and where there are a great many workmen and merchants.[63]

[58] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[59] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, I, 6 ff.

[60] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 437 ff.

[61] al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by G. MacGuckin de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 174, calls the material Dibekiya.

[62] For this vocalisation, Dumaira, see A. Grohman, "Ṭirāz," *Encyl. Islām*, IV, 785–93.

[63] Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*,

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He also mentioned a little town called Shirinḳās near there, which, he remarked, is commercial and industrial so it, too, probably made these stuffs:

> Maḥallat al-Dākhil and Dumaira where cloths of sharb are inscribed (rasama) are both cities in which there are private and public ṭirāz factories (ṭuruz li 'l-khāṣṣa wa-li 'l-'āmma).[64]

According to Maḳrīzī [65] Saladin, when he gained the mastery over Egypt, abolished the custom tax of Miṣr and Cairo and Cadi al-Fāḍil made out a new tariff for him which included among other taxes a "stamp-tax on fine linen (sharb) and Dabīḳī brocade" which brought in one thousand dinars.

Even in the troubled times of al-Malik al-'Ādil, Usāma ibn Munḳidh noted "a camel-load of Dabīḳī clothes, siḳlāṭūn, squirrel-furred material (musandjab), Dimyāṭī brocade, and turbans." [66] Aprostrophizing himself in his old age, he said:

> After being dressed in the coat of mail, I now dress in cloaks (ḥulla) of Dabīḳī fabric. Woe to me and the cloths (thiyāb mulawwana), upholstery (or carpets), farsh, and Būḳalamūn are made there.[68]

The above authors for the most part have been contemporary with the events which they describe, but later authors have incorporated material from writers whose works are now lost, and these accounts are rather earlier than some which have already been given. First among these must come Yāḳūt, throughout whose encyclopaedia are scattered references to the towns of this group:

> Dabḳā . . . It is one of the villages of Miṣr (Egypt) near Tinnīs to which the Dabīḳī garments, which are quite unparalleled, are ascribed. Thus says Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (*ob.* 350–60 H. [961–71 A.D.]), but I asked Egyptians about it and they said: "Dabīḳ is a village near Tinnīs, between it and al-Faramā, but it is ruined nowadays. . . .
>
> Dabīḳ (the modern Dabīdj ?) . . . A land which lay between al-Faramā and Tinnīs of the provinces of Egypt, after which Dabīḳī garments were named, but God alone knows." [67]

The other geographers up to Bakrī and Idrīsī (548 H. [1154 A.D.]) seem to have known the city, though Idrīsī is probably only following earlier sources. Still it is feasible to suppose that Dabḳā (with the variant forms of the name given in other writers) may have prospered up till the Crusade, in which Tinnīs was destroyed.

Yāḳūt said very little about Tinnīs, but he quoted al-Muḥallabī (*fl. ca.* 365–86 H. [975–96 A.D.]):

> Conditions in it are the same as in Damietta, except that it is bigger and broader, and various colored cloths (thiyāb mulawwana), upholstery (or carpets), farsh, and Būḳalamūn are made there.[68]

This brevity is hardly surprising, since Tinnīs had been entirely destroyed in 588 H. (1192 A.D.) in face of the Frankish invasion:

> The town of Tinnīs was ordered to be evacuated, and the inhabitants to be transferred to Damietta. The trees of the gardens were to be cut, and the women taken

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ed. and trans. by R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), text, p. 156. Cf. C. F. Seybold, *Ibn al Aṯîr's Kunja-Wörterbuch betitelt Kitâb al-muraṣṣa'* (Weimar, 1896), p. 175.

[64] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 159.

[65] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte,* trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), p. 298 ff., text (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), I, 103 ff.

[66] Usāma ibn Munḳidh, *Usāmah's Memoirs Entitled Kitāb al-I'tibār,* ed P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), pp. 35, 191. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman,* trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), pp. 10 ff. and 161.

[67] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 546 and 548.

[68] *Op. cit.*, I, 882. Cf. Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 118.

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out of it. Tinnīs had no population left in it apart from a few soldiers.[69]

For Damietta, Yāḳūt again quoted al-Muḥallabi:

"It is noted for its good climate and its manufacture of fine sharb linen" . . . al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-Muḥallabī [70] said: "One of the curious things about Damietta and Tinnīs is that the weavers in them who make these fine garments, are Copts of the lowest, humblest, and meanest of people as regards food and drink. For the larger part of their diet consists of fresh salt fish, or evil-smelling Ṣīr fish, and most of them eat without washing their hands (afterward), then return to those valuable and highly esteemed garments and set to work at weaving them. Then the garment is cut (from the loom), and the person who handles it has not the slightest doubt but that it has been perfumed with nadd scent. Another curious thing about Damietta, he said, is that on the east (ḳiblī) side upon the canal is a place used for the preparation of leather, known as the "factories" (ma'āmil), which is let for the manufacture of cloth of sharb, and it is hardly possible that they can be of a good kind except they come from there. Should a span [71] (shibr) be left over and taken to other factories, the broker purchasing the garment is aware of it, and the price of it is lowered because of the difference of the quality of the cloth.[72]

Ibn Zawlāḳ (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]) said:

Balkhī ḳaṣab of every kind, and sharb are made in Damietta, in none of which manufacture does Tinnīs share, although there is only half a day's journey between the two. A white garment without any gold in it, in Damietta fetches the price of three hundred dinars. No dyed material is made in Damietta, and no white stuff in Tinnīs. . . . Some of the chief and most reliable merchants told me that in the year 398 H. (1007–8 A.D.), two Damietta cloaks (ḥulla) were sold for three thousand dinars. The like of this has never been heard in any country. In it are made Ḳalamūnī (Abūḳalamūn) furnishings (farsh) of every kind, with borders (or badges, mu'allam), and embroidered with a ṭirāz border (muṭarraz), and towels for the body and hands (minshafa). They are treasured by all the kings of the earth.

Shaṭawī garments are called after it (Shaṭā). . . . al-Muḥallabī said: "In Shaṭā and Damietta are made the precious garments, a single one of which, without any gold in it, fetches a thousand dirhams." [73]

Tūna. . . . It is proverbial for its cloth manufacture and for its ṭirāz factories.[74]

Biyawrnabāra. . . . In it is made excellent, surpassingly good wide sharāb.[75]

Abwān. . . . Its inhabitants were Christians; surpassingly good sharb which is called after it was made there.[76]

The *Marāṣid* [77] describes it as "a town which was near Damietta, and the people of which were Christians; valuable sharb was made there and called Būnī after it."

Mustawfī [78] followed older accounts: "The isle of Tinnīs . . . The people weave fine brocades, and the Greek brocades are mostly from Tinnīs. The population live on milk and fish."

It is, however, in the immense work of Maḳrīzī that one finds most information about textile manufactures in Egypt, embedded in much other archeological information. Maḳrīzī drew on a number of different sources. Quoting no authority he said of Dabīḳ:

Dabīḳ is one of the villages which depended on Damietta. There used to be made there stuffs embroidered with gold (muthaḳḳal), turbans of dyed sharb linen,

[69] Maḳrīzī, "Histoire d'Égypte de Maḳrīzī," trans. by E. Blochet, *Revue de l' Orient Latin,* VIII (1900–1901), 213. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique* . . ., p. 517.

[70] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 602.

[71] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 129.

[72] This measure is the space between the thumb and little finger when fully extended.

[73] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 288.

[74] *Ibid.*, I, 901.

[75] *Ibid.*, I, 804.

[76] *Ibid.*, I, 101.

[77] Yāḳūt, *Lexicon geographicum cui titulus est Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll and J. J. B. Gaal (Leyden, 1850–64), I, 18.

[78] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, G.M.S. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 230.

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and Dabīḳī stuffs with borders (or badges, 'alam) ornamented with gold. It was also there that they made turbans of linen with gold thread, each one being a hundred dhirā' in length, and having embroideries (raḳamāt) woven with gold. The amount of gold contained in a turban was worth five hundred dinars apart from the cost of the silk (ḥarīr) and thread. These turbans as well as other stuffs were introduced in the time of al-'Azīz bi'llāh ibn al-Mu'izz in the year 365 H. (975–76 A.D.) and used until the death of the prince in Sha'bān of the year 385 H. (995 A.D.).[79]

Of Tinnīs, he[80] said:

Tinnīs was a large town in which there were a great many remains of the ancients. The inhabitants were rich and opulent, most of them being weavers. At Tinnīs they wove linen sharb cloths such as were woven nowhere else in the world, and they used to make for the caliph a garment called badana (a kind of tunic)[81] into the composition of which the only thread introduced for the warp and woof was two ounces (ūḳīya); the rest of the stuff was woven with gold, made with perfect workmanship, and with no need to be cut or sewn. The value of the robe reached a thousand dinars. There was no ṭirāz factory for linen in the whole world where a robe of simple linen and no gold fetched a hundred dinars of money, except at Tinnīs and Damietta.

At Shaṭā, Dīfū, Dumaira, Tūna, and the neighboring islands, they used to make fine cloth, but it could not compare with that of Tinnīs and Damietta. Every year the export of these stuffs to Iraq produced, until after the year 360 H. (970–1 A.D.), from twenty thousand to thirty thousand dinars. When the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis was made inspector of finances, he destroyed this industry by his vexatious taxations. Christians under protection used to live at Tinnīs and Damietta.[82]

In Shawwāl of the year 624 H. (1227 A.D.), al-Malik al-Kāmil ordered the town of Tinnīs to be destroyed. It was one of the most considerable cities in which princely cloth, and the covering of the Kaaba were woven.[83]

Al-Fākihī, in his *Akhbār Makka* ("History of Mecca") said: "I have seen on that part of the Kaaba which is next to the west corner, a covering (kiswa) which had inscribed on the upper part: "One of the things ordered by al-Sarī ibn al-Ḥākim, and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Wazīr al-Djarawī, by the command of al-Faḍl ibn Sahl Dhu 'l-Riyāsatain, and Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusain. Year 197 H. (812–13 A.D.)." I have also seen a piece of the Ḳubāṭī of Egypt (Miṣr) in the midst of it (the covering ?) except that they had written with a thin black line at the corners of the Temple: "One of the things which the Commander of the Faithful al-Ma'mūn ordered. Year 206 H. (821–22 A.D.)." I have also seen one of Mahdī's coverings upon which was written: "In the name of God. Blessings from God upon Abdallah al-Mahdī Muhammad, the Commander of the Faithful. May God prolong his existence. One of the things which Isma'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Tinnīs, by the hand of al-Ḥakam ibn 'Ubaid, year 162 H. (778–79 A.D.)." I have seen yet another covering of Ḳubāṭī of Egypt on which was inscribed: "In the name of God. The blessing of God. One of the things that Abdallah al-Mahdī Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful ordered, God preserve him. Muhammad ibn Sulaimān (ordered) that the covering of the Kaaba should be made in the ṭirāz factory at Tinnīs, by the hand of al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Maslama, his agent, year 159 H. (775–76 A.D.)."

Al-Masīḥī recorded under the events of the year 384 H. (994–95 A.D.):

In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da there arrived from Tinnīs, Damietta, and al-Faramā, Yaḥyā ibn al-Yamān, with presents, composed of chests (safaṭ), wardrobes (takht), and boxes (ṣundūḳ) full of money, horses, mules, asses, three umbrellas (maẓāll, "ceremonial umbrellas"), and two coverings for the Kaaba.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the year 402 H. (1012 A.D.) there arrived the present sent every year by the town of Tinnīs which was composed of five camels with their trappings, a hundred head of horses with their saddles and bridles, coats of mail, and manufactured articles, three Dabīḳī tents with their divans, standards, and all the precious furniture and stuffs the town usually gave.

Of Tūna, he[84] said:

[79] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique* . . ., p. 667; *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 226.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[81] See the "Glossary" to the *B.G.A.* for this word, and also, Dozy, *op. cit.*, and *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. P. de Jong and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1869–71), 366, where it is said to have been interwoven with pearls and embroidered with precious jewels.

[82] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 176, trans., p. 508.

[83] *Ibid.*, text, I, 181, trans., p. 517.

[84] *Ibid.*, text, I, 181, trans., p. 519.

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Among the dependencies of the province of Tinnīs was a village called Tūna where there was made embroidered stuff (ṭirāz) of Tinnīs and where, sometimes, the covering of the Kaaba was made. Al-Fākihī said: "I have seen also a covering given by Harun al-Rashid, made of Ḳubāṭī of Egypt, and bearing the inscription: 'In the name of God. May the blessing of God be on the Caliph al-Rashid Abdallah Harun, Commander of the Faithful. May God be generous to him. One of the things which al-Faḍl ibn Rabī' ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Tūna in the year 190 H. (805-6 (A.D.).

Of Shaṭā, he [85] said:

It is at Shaṭā that the covering for the Kaaba used to be made. I have seen, says al-Fākihī, one of the coverings of the Commander of the Faithful, Harun al-Rashid, of Ḳubāṭī stuff of Egypt, bearing the inscription on the upper part: In the name of God. God bless Abdallah Harun, Commander of the Faithful. This is one of the things which al-Faḍl ibn Rabī', client of the Commander of the Faithful ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Shaṭā. A covering for the Kaaba. 190 H. (805–6 A.D.).

Ibn Duḳmāḳ, the contemporary of Maḳrīzī, quoting one of his sources on the ṭirāz factory at Tinnīs and Damietta, said:

In Tinnīs and Damietta valuable cloth used to be made, and though Shaṭā, Dabīḳ, Dumaira, Tūna, and the adjoining islands used to make this valuable cloth, they did not come anywhere near the Tinnīs, Damietta, and Shaṭā kinds. Every year, stuff to the value of twenty thousand to thirty thousand dinars was despatched to Iraq. The vizier Abu 'l-Faradj Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis, and the vizier al-'Azīz bi 'llāh al-'Alawī al-Ubaidī (the Fatimid) put an end to this by exactions. The second Tinnīs, however, continued to be inhabited until the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb abandoned it in Shawwāl of the year 624 H. (1227 A.D.) from fear that the Franks might get possession of it. . . . In the towns of Tinnīs and Damietta there used to be made the precious garments of linen (sharb), muḳaṣṣab stuffs (of linen), Tinnīsī, and Dabīḳī which nothing in the world can approach in beauty and costliness. Sometimes a single garment of this cloth, when embroidered in gold (mudhahhab) can fetch the price of a thousand dinars or thereabout. That which does not fetch the price of a hundred or two dinars, or thereabouts, has a basis (aṣl) of linen.[86]

Part II

ALEXANDRIA AND CAIRO

The two capital cities of Egypt each possessed a state factory but, considering their importance, we have remarkably little literary evidence of their activities, though the *Répertoire chronologique* contains many examples of their inscribed textiles.

Alexandria was celebrated in the Roman era as a center of weaving, and this industry continued unabated into Islamic times. The uninterrupted trade in silk with the Byzantine empire is described by von Falke,[87] and it seems to have taken place with the churches, mainly, during the eighth and ninth centuries of Christendom. This great city also supplied the Maghreb, Spain, and North Africa with costly wares; Even India imported cloth from it. Ḳalḳashandī [88] stated:

One of the royal appurtenances is the embroidery (naḳsh) of the sultan's name on clothing (kuswa) which is woven and inscribed (marḳūm), and the embroidered borders (ṭirāz) made of silk (ḥarīr) or gold, with a color different from the cloth (on which it was embroidered), or the ṭirāz borders, in order that the royal garments and embroideries (ṭirāz) may be distinguished from others, to draw attention to the power of its royal owner or that of the person whom he so honors by the investiture, from friendship, or by way of payment, or as a gift, etc. For this purpose there is a special establishment (dār) for its manufacture at Alexandria, known as the dār al-ṭirāz. The Caliphs of both the Umayyads and the Abbasids followed this custom when the Caliphate was in existence.

In the second century, about the time of

[85] *Ibid.*, text, I, 226, trans., p. 666.

[86] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. by C. Vollers (Cairo, 1893), II, 79. This authority is al-Ḥāfiẓ Djamāl al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī (*ob.* 673 H. [1274–75 A.D.]).

[87] O. von Falke, *Decorative Silks* (3d ed.; London, 1936), p. 7.

[88] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331–18 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 7.

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Harun al-Rashid, the philologist al-Aṣma'ī described certain verses as "khusrawānī brocade and Alexandrine figured stuff (washī)" [89] and Djāḥiẓ [90] related that "the best kind of figured stuff (washī) is the Sābirī and the Kufic variety, and the ibrīsm silk kind, and the gold-woven kind, then Alexandrine figured washī stuff of pure linen." The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [91] lists Iskandarī among the clothes worn by the man of fashion in the third century of the Muslim age. Ibn al-Faḳīh [92] too mentioned Alexandrine cloth along with that of Tinnīs and Damietta which kinds, for the most part, they probably resembled.

Bakrī [93] recorded that the stuffs of Ṣafāḳus were manufactured like those of Alexandria, which may indicate the cultural influence of this city extended westward into Africa. Benjamin of Tudela [94] found three hundred Jews in Alexandria, and he gave a long register of countries ranging from Scotland to India which had commercial relations with Alexandria, sending ships there. Each nation had an inn of its own. The *Chanson de Roland* (*ca.* 1066–99) [95] tells of a certain person *"ki fut cuvert d'un palie alexandrine."* There are doubtless other references in early medieval literature. Idrīsī [96] stated that the vessels which come from Alexandria to Ṭulmaitha bring cotton and linen stuffs.

In Fatimid times the factory flourished enormously, if one considers the passages which are quoted from Maḳrīzī on the authority of early and contemporary sources. It seems to have been one of the chief centers of their supplies and had of course a dār al-ṭirāz.[97] Examples of this cloth are listed in the *Répertoire chronologique* and in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*.

Abu 'l-Fidā' [98] said that al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Saladin) gave as presents rare articles of gold set with jewels, and splendid cloth of that which is made for the royal store (al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf) in the dār al-ṭirāz in Alexandria.

The Persian author Mustawfī [99] wrote: "They are of great fame here for their woven stuffs, and Alexandrine cloths are exported thence to all lands." During the whole period of Mameluke control of Egypt, it seems to have been famed for these wares, and the *Thousand and One Nights* commonly mentions Alexandrine and Baalbek stuffs together, and even talks of a hundred different kinds of white cloths of Egypt, silks of Suez, Kufa, Alexandria, and Greek carpets.[100]

According to Maḳrīzī:

> Among the stuffs woven at Alexandria is this linen cloth which is called sharb, one drachm of which is worth a dirham of silver, and those kinds of embroideries which are sold for several times their weight in silver.[101]

'Umarī (700–748 H. [1301–48 A.D.]), telling that the Africans (the Muslims) wear clothes of linen and cotton, mentioned that "those who wear elegant materials from Alexandria and Iraq

[89] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), V, 318.

[90] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. *Rev. de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 335.

[91] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

[92] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252.

[93] al-Bakrī, *op. cit.,* p. 47.

[94] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* p. 47.

[95] R. Hague, *The Song of Roland* (London, 1937), verse 35. Cf. verse 31.

[96] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 136.

[97] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* text, I, 415.

[98] Abu 'l-Fidā', *al Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Istanbul, 1286 H. [1869–70 A.D.]), IV, 101.

[99] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, G.M.S. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 239.

[100] *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), p. 620.

[101] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* trans. p. 465.

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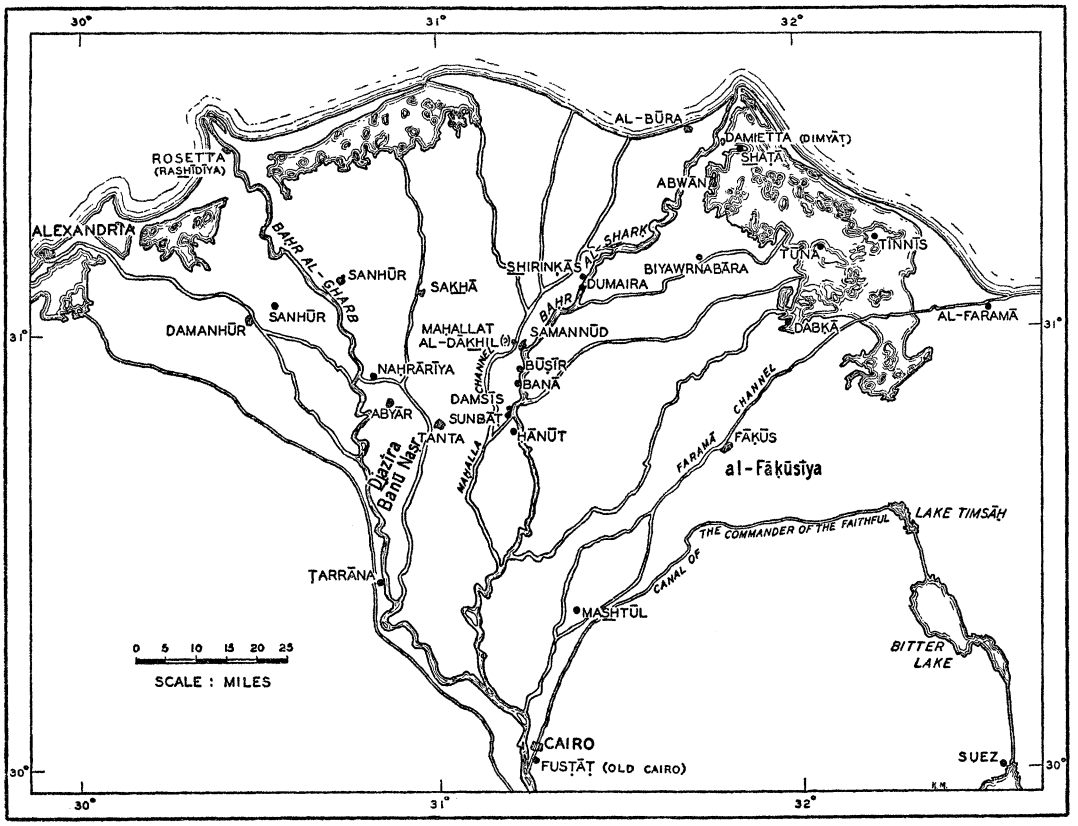
are isolated individuals." [102] Again, he stated that the sultan of Morocco gave as robes of honor "a piece of cloth (sabnīya), that is a packet (buḳdja) of a stuff with designs of animals embroidered in gold made at Alexandria, which they call zardkhāna." [103] Further, he said that in India "the garments of linen which are brought from Alexandria, and the countries of the Russians (Rūs) are worn exclusively by those whom the sultan (of Delhi) honors with them." [104]

Khazradjī recorded [105] that in 788 H. (1386 A.D.) presents came to the Rasūlid sultan of Yemen along with a party of the silk manufacturers ('ummāl al-ḥarīr) of Alexandria.

Descriptions of the costume of the Mameluke generals and ministers of state have been left by Maḳrīzī. Among the textiles he noted that the emirs wore a cap (kalawta) of red wool of Malaṭīya, a city in the Armenian group:



MAP 3.—THE DELTA OF THE NILE

[102] 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, trans. by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, I, *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte, Bibliothèque des géographes arabes* (Paris, 1927), II, 127.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[104] 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār, Notice de l'ouvrage . . . Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar*, by E. M. Quatremère, *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Notices et extraits.* XIII, 1 (Paris, 1838), 200. Cf. p. 270.

[105] al-Khazradjī, J. W. Redhouse, and Muhammad 'Asal, *El-Khazreji's History of the Resúlí Dynasty of Yemen*, G.M.S. (London, 1906–13), III, trans., II, 164, text, II, 585. The following extract from Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery

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The troops of the emirs and others used to wear various kinds of kamkhā (a Chinese silk[106]), Khaṭā'ī (Chinese stuff), kandjī (a stuff of silk and cotton[107]), and a velvety material (mukhmal), Iskandarī, linen (sharb), naṣāfī (a stuff made in Baghdad), and colored wools. Then the wearing of silk was declared unlawful in the days of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ (784–807 H. [1382–98 A.D.]). To this day, they are confined to the wearing of colored wool in winter, and the wearing of light (maṣḳūl, lit. polished) naṣāfī in summer.[108]

In the days of al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Ḳalāūn (*ca.* 679 H. [1280 A.D.]), the important emirs regularly received a robe of honor:

[Consisting of] a kind of cloth called ṭardwaḥsh[109] made in the ṭirāz factory which was in Alexandria, Mīṣr (Cairo) and Damascus. It was embroidered with bands (mudjawwakha djākhāt) which were inscribed with the titles of the sultan. It had bands (djākhāt) of tardwaḥsh, and bands of different colors intermingled with gold-spangled linen (ḳaṣab mudhahhab), these bands being separated by embroideries in color (nuḳūsh), and a ṭirāz border. This was made of ḳaṣab, but sometimes an important personage (among the officials) would have a ṭirāz border embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab) with a squirrel (sindjāb), and beaver (ḳundus) fur upon it, as mentioned above. Under the cloak (ḳabā') of ṭardwaḥsh, there was a cloak of muḳtariḥ, with hoods (ṭarḥa) of Alexandrine stuff, and a headdress (kalawta) of gold-embroidery (zarkash), with spurs, a turban (shāsh) as mentioned, and a waist-belt (ḥiyāṣa) of gold, sometimes with plaques (baikārīya) and sometimes without them.

Various kinds of stuffs embroidered with all kinds of animals are described under the section on the Fatimids. Perhaps, too, the *Thousand and One Nights* is describing a piece of ṭardwaḥsh in the following passage:

He then unfolded the piece of linen, and lo, in it was the figure of a gazelle worked with silk and embroidered with red gold, and facing it was the figure of another gazelle worked with silver, and having upon its neck a ring of red gold, and three beads of silver.[110]

In the year 696 H. (1279 A.D.), Sultan al-Malik Manṣūr al-Dīn Manṣūrī forbade his subjects to wear headdresses (kalawta) of gold brocade, embroideries (ṭuruz) of the same stuff, and robes (ḳabā') of great price. This was an economy because of a famine in the land.[111]

Even later, the ṭirāz factory was in existence, for Baibars II gave a present, containing cloth of Sikandarī, manufactured in this place,[112] and Sultan Ḳā'it Bey (873–902 H. [1468–95 A.D.]) gave away a gift containing fifty-one garments (tafāṣīl) of Alexandria, and ten pieces of muslin of Mashtūl (shāshāt Mashtūlī).[113] This must have been contemporary with the Jewish

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and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 181, is of some interest in connection with the above: "It is at Maḳdashaw (Mogadischio in Italian Somaliland) that they make the stuffs which are called after this town, and which are quite unequalled. From Maḳdashaw they export them to Egypt and elsewhere." Again, talking of the officers of the sultan of that city, he said (*ibid.*, II, 186): "Their clothing consists of silken cloths (fūṭat al-khazz) tied round the waist, instead of trousers which they do not know, and a tunic of Egyptian linen (durrā'a min al-maḳṭū' al-Miṣrī mu'lama) with a border, and a loose robe (fardjīya) of Ḳudsī (Jerusalem stuff?), and an Egyptian (Miṣrī) turban with a border ('imāma mu'lama)."

[106] Cf. Chapter II (II), n. 81.

[107] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 492.

[108] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 217.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 227. This author has other valuable notes on costume which, however, do not concern us here. Byzantine satin was a common article of apparel among the great. Ṭardwaḥsh is a stuff embroidered with animals.

[110] *The Arabian Nights*, p. 236.

[111] Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l' Égypte*, trans. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837–42), II, II, 51.

[112] Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouk*s, trans. by E. Blochet, *Patrologia orientalis* (Paris, 1919–28), XII, 453.

[113] "Relation d'un voyage du Sultan Qâ'it Bây en Palestine, "trans. by R. L. Devonshire, *Bull. de l'inst. franç. d' archéol. orientale du Caire*, XX (1921), 25.

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traveler Ben Rabbi Menahem (1481 A.D.),[114] who found that "the flax of Alexandria is very good, and their linen garments fine and cheap." [115]

CAIRO

Maḳrīzī described the Khaṭṭ Dār al-Dībādj in Cairo:

It was in olden times known as the Street of the House of Brocade, because the mansion of the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis, which, today, includes the Ṣāḥibīya School, the Darb al-Ḥarīrī (Street of the Silk Worker), and the Saifīya School, was made into an institution where brocade, and silk (ḥarīr) were woven for the requirements of the Fatimid caliphs, and which became known as Dār al-Dībādj. The street was so-called until the vizier Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abdallah ibn Ali ibn Shukr dwelt there in the days of al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (the latter half of the twelfth century), and it became known as Khaṭṭ Suwaiḳat al-Ṣāḥib.[116]

Again,[117] the house of the vizier Ibn Killis was known in Fatimid times as "Dār al-Dībādj (i.e., dār al-ṭirāz), because brocade (dībādj) which is silk was woven there." Ali Bahgat Bey, drawing from Maḳrīzī, said:

The palace of the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis at Cairo was transformed by the vizier al-Afḍal into workshops where stuffs of brocade and silk were manufactured. The direction of these workshops was always entrusted to persons of rank in the kingdom.[118]

The same source gives an account of the expenditure on the ṭirāz factories [119] by the Fatimids, but it is not detailed enough to be of interest here—only tailors and menders (raffā') are specified among the textile workers, though judging by the list of artisans mentioned in the ṭirāz factory of Baghdad, there must have been many more.

The following account of the ṭirāz organization is given by Ibn Mammātī:

The ṭirāz. This service (mu'āmala) has an inspector (nāẓir), an overseer (mushārif), a controller (mutawallī), and two accountants, (shāhid). Now if any sort of article is required to be manufactured, a list is made out by the Dīwān al-Khizāna ("Office of the Wardrobe"), and sent to them along with the required (or computed) money, and gold thread (dhahab maghzūl) for their expenses. When the chests (safaṭ) are brought back, they are compared with the chits which went with them, and checked. If the value comes to more than has been spent on it, the excellent nature of the workmen is inferred from that, but they derive no benefit from it at all—that is to say the surplus. If the value is less than the expenditure, the extent of the deficiency is elucidated and the requisition is made from the Dīwān, and the employees are required to pay it. The employees take the responsibility of payment on themselves, and extract it from the gold embroiderers (raḳḳām). A series of happenings of this kind in what they bring, indicates the dishonesty of their characters.[120]

Maḳrīzī stated that a palace known as Manẓara al-Ghazzāla was used by the ṭirāz factories:

In the days of al-Afḍal (the end of the fifth century H.) the usual (sum spent on it) comprised thirty-one thousand dinars, and there were fifteen thousand dinars of that sum in particular spent on Iraq gold; the sum spent on Egyptian (Miṣrī) gold was sixteen thousand dinars. In the days of Ma'mūn it comprised forty-three

[114] E. N. Adler, Jewish Travellers (London, 1930), p. 160.

[115] The examination of the Mameluke ṭirāz system is beyond the scope of this work, but there are many other references to it in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* and also in P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamâlik . . . par Khalîl eḍ-Ḍâhiry* (Paris, 1894), p. 108 ff., and 'Umarī, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[116] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 32.

[117] *Ibid.*, II, 104.

[118] Ali Bahgat Bey, "Manufactures d'étoffe en Égypte au Moyen Âge," *Bull. Instit. Égypte*, III-IV, (1902–3), 357. This is a good article but, unfortunately, lacks appropriate references to the text of Maḳrīzī by which one may refer to the original.

[119] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 397–400.

[120] Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawānīn* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900–1901 A.D.]), pp. 24–25. Read on p. 25, 1, 16 "istadalla" for "istabdala."

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thousand dinars, and double that in the time of al-Āmir.[121]

On the authority of Ibn Ṭuwair, he said that the chief of the ṭirāz was always a notable of some kind:

When he arrives with the royal requisitions (al-īsti-'mālāt al-khāṣṣa) which include the umbrella (miẓalla), the badla (a kind of garment), the badana (a garment especially for the caliph) and the royal apparel for the Friday prayer (al-libās al-khāṣṣ al-Djuma'ī), etc., he is greeted with great honor, and a beast assigned to him from the caliph's stables, which remains at his service until he returns to his charge. He stays at al-Ghazzāla on the bank of the river. It used to be one of the royal belvederes, and Shu'ā' ibn Shawār renovated it. If the manager of the ṭirāz factories (ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz) had ten houses in Cairo, still he would only be allowed to stay in al-Ghazzāla. Hospitality is dispensed to him as to strangers arriving (as ambassador) to the state. He comes before the caliph after bringing the chests (safaṭ) which enclose those precious robes. All he has is displayed while he draws attention to one thing after another in the hands of the royal farrashes in the palace of the caliph, wherever the monarch happens to be in residence. Great honor is shown to this personage, especially when the materials ordered suit the requirements. When this is completed, it is compared with the account which he has with him, and they are delivered to the master of the robes, and he is invested publicly before the caliph, nobody else apart from him being invested in this fashion. After this he returns to his own place. Sometimes, when he is not able to come away he sends a lieutenant, somebody related to him, who must be no less than a son or a brother of his, for the office is highly important. The sum assigned to him each month is seventy dinars. The lieutenant is assigned twenty dinars because he takes over his charge when the manager of the ṭirāz comes (to court) in person and takes his place when he is absent at his work.

According to Maḳrīzī:

When Sultan al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb gained the mastery over the kingdom of Egypt (565H. [1169 A.D.]) he caused the custom tax of Miṣr and Cairo to be abolished, and the Cadi al-Fāḍil drew up a tariff for him on this subject. The annual sum (produced by those taxes) rose to 100,000 dinars.[122]

The following are the particulars relevant to the textile manufactures of Cairo:

The levy of al-Ṣanā'a for the payment of the customs established on cloth, copper, tin, coral, and precious objects which come there	5,193 dinars
Tax on the warehouse of cotton (Funduḳ al-Ḳuṭn)	67 dinars
Tax on flax and cotton arriving at al-Ṣanā'a [123]	100 dinars
Tax collected at Faiyum on flax coming there from the south, and merchandise which goes out	4,160 dinars
Tax on ornaments (ḥulā) coming from the north, and cotton	1,020 dinars
Stamp (khātam) on sharb linen and Dabīḳī	1,500 dinars
Tax on wool	250 dinars
Taxes on the linen warehouse (Dār al-Kattān)	60 dinars
Brokerage on linen	300 dinars
The Ṭabarī factory (ma'mal al-Ṭabarī)	240 dinars
Tax on cloth called khāmat al-Shāshiyīn [124]	33 dinars
Tax on goat hair (sha'r) and circles of wood (ṭārāt)	4 dinars
Tax on dye (ṣibgh) and silk (ḥarīr)	334 dinars

Ibn Duḳmāḳ [125] in his description of the topography of Cairo, gave some scattered notes on the streets where cloth was sold. In 378 H. (988 A.D.) the transfer of the silk market (ḥarīr) and the wax market was made to the Ḳaiṣarīya of Abū Murra. Again, he mentioned the Ḳaiṣarīya of Waratha al-Ẓāhir, which was well known for the sale of Syrian (Sha'mī, or Damascus) cloth (ḳumāsh).[126] Maḳrīzī stated that

[121] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 469.

[122] Maḳrīzī, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, p. 298. ff. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 104. ff.

[123] Reading al-kattān wa'l-'uṭb.

[124] Probably a quarter of Cairo where turbans (shāsh) were made.

[125] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed. by C. Vollers, *Description de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1893), I, 39.

[126] *Ibid.*, I, 38. Cf. I, 37, 38, 49. The pointing of the names is uncertain.

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the Sūḳ al-Khila'īyīn ("Market of the Sellers of Robes of Honor") "is one of the most frequented markets in Cairo because of the amount of clothing sold to the royal family and others. The greater part of that which is sold there consists of tailored garments (al-thiyāb al-mukhaiyaṭa)." [127] Probably, Maḳrīzī referred here to his own time (766–845 H. [1364–1442 A.D.]).

The Mamelukes adopted Abbasid prerogatives very soon after the accession of Baibars, who, according to al-Ḥasan al-Fa'sī al-Makkī al-Malikī,[128] was the first to send a covering (kiswa) to Mecca after the Abbasids, some time after the year 660 H. (1262 A.D.):

> The kings of Egypt controlled this, except that the covering of the Kaaba was made in Ghulla, a village outside Cairo, which al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Ḳalāūn, the ruler of Egypt made a mortmain (waḳf) for the covering of the Kaaba each year. . . . The name of the sultan of Egypt was inscribed on the Kaaba-covering. Thus, the power of Baibars spread into the Hejaz.[129]

Ḳalḳashandī (*ob.* 821 H. [1418 A.D.]) said that "this covering is woven at the capital Cairo at Mashhad al-Ḥusain, of black silk (ḥarīr) embroidered (muṭarraz) with a white inscription, in the weave itself (fī nafs al-nasadj)." [130] He added that sometimes the kings of Yemen send it.

A certain Muhammad ibn Makkī . . . al-Raḳḳām al-Dimashḳī (614–99 H. [1217–99 A.D.]) is mentioned by Maḳrīzī, who mentioned that he was a raḳḳām (embroiderer) in the ṭirāz factory in Cairo, but no other information is forthcoming about him.[131] The same writer noted that most of the districts of Cairo are sown with flax.[132]

Part III

THE DELTA AND THE FAIYUM

Short notices on the various flax-producing towns or large villages in the Delta remain scattered throughout the geographers, but the following list, is at best, fragmentary. Nearly every place in the Delta would produce flax.

Ḥānūt. Idrīsī said: "At Ḥānūt they cultivate much flax. It grows well here and forms the principal mainstay of the inhabitants."[133]

Sunbāṭ. Benjamin of Tudela said: "The inhabitants sow flax and weave linen which they export to all parts of the world." [134] Idrīsī said: "At Sunbāṭ, they cultivate flax." [135]

Damsīs. Idrīsī wrote: "Damsīs has a fair every Saturday in which every kind of fine cloth and goods are bought and sold, and merchants go to it." [136]

Again Ibn Zawlāḳ (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]) noted: "In it (Egypt) are the towns of Maḥalla, Banā, Būṣīr, and Samannūd, and the linen in them which is carried to the countries of Islam, and the unbelievers and the utmost limits of the world." [137]

These towns were probably drawn upon for their flax by the important cities of the Tinnīs–Damietta group. Another group of cities, concerning which there is information, lies more to the West.

Ṣakhā. Ibn Ḥawḳal [138] said that it has much

[127] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* II, 104.

[128] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld, (Leipzig, 1857–61), II, 269, f.

[129] See Appendix II for the covering of the Kaaba.

[130] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331–18 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 57.

[131] Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muḳafā,* extract in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Leipzig, 1857), p. 668.

[132] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* II, 129. The very informative material on the Mameluke period has barely been mentioned here. See *ibid.,* II, 113, etc.

[133] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 153.

[134] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* trans., p. 77.

[135] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 153.

[136] *Ibid.*

[137] Ibn Zawlāḳ, extract in Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Aegypti et Africae* (Leyden, 1930–34), III, II, 685.

[138] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 138. The interchange of ṣād and sīn is unusual in Arabic, but it does occur.

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flax. This must be the same city as Sakhā. Sanhūr, too, he said, has linen.

Damanhūr. Abu 'l-Fidā' recorded: "Damanhūr cloth is named after it." [139]

Abyār is only mentioned by later authors. Ibn Baṭūṭa said:

> In Abyār, very beautiful garments (thiyāb) of high price in Syria, Iraq, Miṣr (Egypt), and elsewhere are manufactured. It is a strange thing that it is near Naḥrārīya, but the garments which are made there are not considered of much consequence nor esteemed by its inhabitants.[140]

Wüstenfeld [141] noted from Ḳalḳashandī that in the Djazīra of the Banū Naṣr, between Abyār and the western arm of the Nile, there were costly stuffs of the kind called mukhaiyarāt made. Ibn Iyās stated:

> Abyār is a town in the neighborhood of Alexandria and there was a mine of natron there, and everything that fell into it became natron. . . . After it are called the Abyāri "ẓuhūr," which are made of silk (ḥarīr) and linen, the best of manufactures.[142]

THE FAIYUM

This district was famous for its textiles before the Muslim invasion, and the manufactures continued in Islamic times without a break. Much information on the factories of the Faiyum is available. In the historical romance, entitled *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* ("Conquest of Bahnasā"), we catch many glimpses of the fine stuffs worn by the Coptic leaders when they went forth to meet the Arabs, rich silken materials with gold embroideries.

The romance mentions a material very like ṭardwaḥsh, a tent upholstered with silk (ḥarīr) of various colors, blue, red, green, and black, embroidered (muḳaṣṣab ?) with gold and silver thread, ornamented with pearls, both sides of which, inside and out, had figures (taṣwīr) of birds and wild animals, as well as other drawings They spread a carpet (bisāṭ) of many-colored silk and furnished it with cushions (wasīda), couches (misnad), and mats. The tent cords were made of silk of various colors, and adjusted by pegs of ivory and ebony by means of gold and silver guys.[143]

Again, a patriarch is described as wearing brocade (dībādja) embroidered with gold (muḳaṣṣab).[144] It is also worthy of note that when the Arabs took the city of Ahnās, their plunder contained many gold and silver vessels and splendid stuffs (fursh fākhira).[145] All these stuffs seem similar to the textiles which were woven in this district at later times.

Ya'ḳūbī reported:

> In Faiyum (town) coarse cloth (khaish) is made. The town of Ḳais is there, where the Ḳaisī garments and the excellent robes are made, also the town of Bahnasā (Oxyrynchus) where the Bahnasā curtains (sutūr) are made, and the town of Ahnās where the robes are made.[146]

Mas'ūdī [147] noted the ṭirāz factories of Bahnasā, as did al-Kindī.[148] Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, is the

[139] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), I, 145.

[140] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.,* I, 54.

[141] F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten* (Göttingen, 1879). For the word mukhaiyarāt, see the glossary to Idrīsī, *op. cit.*

[142] Ibn Iyās, L. Langlès, "Cosmographie . . . par . . . Mohammed . . . ben Ayâs (Nashḳ al-Azhār)," *Not. et extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* VIII (Paris, 1810), 29–30.

[143] E. Galtier, "Foutouh al-Bahnasâ," *Mém. de l'institt. franç. d'archéol. orientale du Caire,* XXII (1909), 140, text (infra), p. 70. This is a French translation from a critical text which has never been published and which may vary considerably from the Cairo edition of the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* published in 1297 H. (1879–80 A.D.), to which the textual references in these notes refer.

[144] *Ibid.,* trans., p. 133, text, p. 66.

[145] *Ibid.,* trans., p. 116, text, p. 58.

[146] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.,* VII, 331. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* p. 734.

[147] Mas'ūdī, *Kitâb at -Tanbîh wa l-Ischrâf,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1894), VIII, 22.

[148] Youssouf Kamal, *op. cit.,* p. 631.

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best informed about the factories in this province:

In Faiyum there are large fine towns and well-known ṭirāz factories as well as great estates, belonging to the sultan and to the public (ʿāmma). In it are to be found wares, too famous to require repetition, such as Bahnasā, where curtains, brocade (istabraḳāt), awnings (or sails), tents (khaima), cloaks (ḥulla), hangings (or veils, sitāra), carpets (busuṭ), large tents (miḍrab), and great pavilions (fusṭāṭ) are made with wool, linen, and dyes that do not fade, and colors in which you can see figures, (ranging from) the gnat to the elephant. Those servants of the sultan, who worked in the ṭirāz factories were never in want of caliphs, people of distinction, or merchants from all ends of the earth to indulge their tastes therein, in the way of costly long curtains (sutūr), the length of a single one of which was thirty dhirāʿ, more or less, and the price of a pair of which was about three hundred dinars.[149]

Maḳdisī merely remarked: "In Bahnasā are manufactured curtains (sutūr), mats (anmāṭ), and the valuable flax which is grown in Būṣīr." [150] Idrīsī said:

It is at Bahnasā that there were and still are ṭirāz factories where they weave for royal use (khāṣṣa), the precious curtains which are known as Bahnasī, the sultan's cloth (maḳāṭiʿ), the large tents, and the mutakhaiyar (chosen ?) cloth. In it are many ṭirāz factories belonging to the public (ʿāmma), where merchants evaluate the precious curtains, the length of one of which is thirty dhirāʿ, more or less. No curtains, robes, or other cloths made of wool and cotton are made there without the names of the ṭirāz factories being placed upon them, whether it is the royal (khāṣṣ) ṭirāz, or the public ṭirāz factories, a prescribed custom which the preceding age established, and those workers who came after them followed, up to this present time of ours. These curtains, carpets (fursh) and robes are renowned throughout the earth.[151]

It is upon one of these passages that the account of Maḳrīzī seems to be founded:

It is there that they make the curtains known as Bahnasī, and where they weave the ṭirāz-embroidered stuffs, the royal cloths (al-maḳāṭiʿ al-sulṭānīya), the large tents (miḍrab), and the striped robes (muḥabbara). They make curtains here, a single one of which measured thirty dhirāʿ, and a pair of which were worth two hundred miṯḳāls of gold. When they make a curtain, robes, and garments of wool or cotton, they always inscribe the name of him who is to receive the object. It is a custom handed down from age to age.[152]

By the "preceding age" the authors may have referred to the Byzantine domination of Egypt. The Faiyum greatly declined during the Muslim period, and the revenues at the end of the Fatimid dynasty had sunk by nearly five-sixths. However, even Ibn Baṭūṭa, much later (756 H. [1355 A.D.]), still noted that "excellent woollen cloth is made at Bahnasā." [153]

"From Būṣīr Ḳūrīdus comes fine flax," according to Maḳdisī.[154] This was a town which lay at the entrance to the Faiyum.

Between Bahnasā and Cairo was the city of Būsh, of which the *Mushtarik* said: "To it are attributed the Būsh napkins (mandīl)." [155] Ibn Baṭūṭa [156] remarked that it was the largest flax-producing town in Egypt and that much linen was exported thence to all Egypt and Africa. Dilāṣ, also, had flax.

UPPER EGYPT

Many other towns of Upper Egypt had also important manufactories of cloth. Ibn Ḥawḳal said: "Ṭaḥā is a town, too, in which there is more than one ṭirāz factory." [157] Maḳdisī added: "Ṭaḥā is a village in Upper Egypt where woolen

[149] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[150] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[151] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 50. Perhaps متخيم should be read for متخير, giving the sense of "tent-cloth."

[152] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, p. 704. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 237.

[153] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, I, 96.

[154] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *op. cit.*, III, 203.

[155] Yāḳūt, *Jacut's Moshtarik, das ist Lexikon geographischer Homonyme*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846), p. 70.

[156] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, I. 95.

[157] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

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cloth of very high quality is made." [158] Idrīsī remarked: "In Ṭaḥā and its ṭirāz factories, curtains (sutūr) and robes of wool are made, called after the locality." [159]

According to Iṣṭakhrī [160] much cloth was brought from Ashmunein. While Ibn Ḥawḳal noted that "linen is brought from it and many garments are despatched to Cairo (Miṣr) and elsewhere." [161] Idrīsī spoke of Ashmunein "in which and in its ṭirāz factories, they make curtains and carpets of wool which are called after the city." [162] Maḳrīzī, doubtless on earlier sources, reported that "they used to make upholstery dyed with ḳirmiz (fursh al-ḳirmiz) similar to the Armenian (Armanī)." [163] This last note is important, for it shows that in Egypt, too, the influence of this most important province was felt. The extraneous influences of the Coptic textiles, themselves of pre-Muslim times may have been those of Armenia, rather than those of south Persia.

Yāḳūt [164] mentioned a town Sanabū, west of the Nile, near Dairūt, in which are robes and horse cloths (kunbūsh) which cannot be surpassed.

The town of Asyut was a place where the Armenian type of manufacture was practiced, so this style cannot have been of rare occurrence in Egypt. The sheep-rearing in the locality made it a center of woolen textiles. Mas'ūdī [165] mentioned the factories (ṭirāz) of Asyut. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw gave more particulars:

> In this Asyut, they weave cloth (dastār) of sheep wool, which has no equal in the world, and fine wools which are taken to Persia and which they call Miṣrī, (Egyptian). All this is from Upper Egypt, for in Cairo itself they weave no wool. I myself have seen in Asyut a cloth (fūṭa) manufactured of sheep's wool, the like of which I have not seen in Lahāwar (Lahore), nor Multan, so that I thought it silk (ḥarīr) from the look of it.[166]

Yāḳūt said that Asyut had many Christians and seventy-five Christian churches: "Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī says: 'In it are looms (minsadj) of Armanī-stuff, and triple (muthallath) Dabīḳī.'" [167] Ḳazwīnī repeated that "there are many Christian churches . . . there are exported thence to the whole world, weaves (manāsidj) of Dabīḳī, and delightful cloth, the like of which is not to be found in the world." [168]

Akhmim was another well-known manufactory, though literary information about it is lacking. According to von Falke [169] there was a factory there in Byzantine times under Coptic control; he discussed this very fully. Ya'ḳūbī [170] wrote that "in it are made 'cut' carpets (al-farsh al-ḳuṭū')." [171] Mas'ūdī [172] mentioned its ṭirāz factories with those of Bahnasā and Asyut.

In the south of Egypt, Yāḳūt [173] stated that Ḳūṣ (which ultimately supplanted Aswan as the chief city in that region) was a station of traders coming from Aden. Of Aswan itself, Ibn Ḥawḳal said: "It has supplies of linen manufactured into pieces of cloth (shiḳḳa) and kerchiefs (mandīl) which are taken to the Hejaz and Cairo (Miṣr).[174]

158 Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

159 Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, page 53. Ṭaḥā with a variant Ṭakhā.

160 Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, I, 53.

161 Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

162 Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 46.

163 Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, trans., p. 710 and text, I, 239.

164 Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 157.

165 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 22.

166 Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *op. cit.*, II, I, text, p. 61, trans., p. 173.

167 Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 272.

168 Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, II, 99. Possibly Yāḳūt should be corrected from Ḳazwīnī.

169 von Falke, *Decorative Silks*, p. 7.

170 Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

171 Read perhaps "maḳṭū'".

172 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

173 Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 201.

174 Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

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Part IV

THE FATIMIDS

A great deal of miscellaneous and confused material is available on the ṭirāz factories which supplied the Fatimid dynasty. Besides information detailed elsewhere, some material which seems to relate to the dynasty will be given in this section.

The first Fatimid to have the name of his vizier placed upon the ṭirāz inscriptions was Caliph al-'Azīz billāh, in the middle of the fourth century H.[175] Most of the notices relate to Caliph al-Mustanṣir, who was forced, for various reasons, to disperse the property of his ancestors. Taghrībirdī [176] throws rather a curious sidelight on the Fatimids. Owing to the great famine in Mustanṣir's reign, he was even obliged to sell the garments which had been in al-Ḳaṣr from the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ṭā'i', when Bahā' al-Dawla (of Shia persuasion) plundered the Dār al-Khilāfa (in Baghdad) in the year 381 H. (991 A.D.), that is to say he deposed al-Ṭā'i'. The caliphs of Egypt used to keep those garments because they hated the Abbasids, so as to disgrace them.

The Fatimids not only imported many different kinds of textiles from Persia, Iraq, Spain, and Byzantium, but the workmen also, or at least the latter were attracted to their opulent court, for Maḳrīzī [177] mentioned a certain Abū Sahl al-Tustarī (from Tustar or Shustar), who made a boat for Mustanṣir's mother, which was called "The Silvery," and again, Sicilian carpenters manufactured barques for the Fatimids, which, like the Baghdad rivercraft of a similar type, were upholstered with Dabīḳī cloth and had colored Dabīḳī awnings (sutūr Dabīḳīya mulawwana). Further, it seems likely that some, at least, of the foreign weaves mentioned in the palace treasuries were made in the state looms of Egypt.

According to the same author it was the Dīwān al-Madjlis which was responsible for "the expenses of the dār al-ṭirāz for the royal (khāṣṣ) manufactures required, which amounted to ten thousand dinars yearly." [178]

The Manẓara al-Ghazzāla has already been discussed under the history of Cairo, but there were many other institutions connected with the ṭirāz in that city, namely the "Stores of Upholstery and Furnishings" and the "Tent Store." For the descriptions of these places, Maḳrīzī drew on the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir* ("Book of Treasures" or "Stores"), possibly written by Mudjallā ibn Djamī' (*fl.* 549 H. [1154 A.D.]).[179] It is better, however, first to consult Maḳrīzī on the "Wardrobe of Robes" (Khizāna al-Kisawāt):

> Ibn Abī Ṭaiy said: "He (meaning al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh 342–65 H. [953–75 A.D.]), founded an institution (dār), and called it Dār al-Kiswa, wherein all kinds of garments and cloth used to be cut. According to their various ranks, he used to invest the people with the summer and winter clothing (kiswa); their wives and children receiving the same. He made that a prescribed custom which they inherited in aftertimes from one another. He made out a register for this purpose and called the place Khizānat al-Kiswa." Mentioning the decline of the dynasty, he says: "Another interesting item of historical information about them is that, from the Khazā'in al-Kiswa, they used to bring forth to all their servants, retainers, and dependents, both great and small, high and low, robes for summer and winter, from the turban to the trousers, and other clothing of less importance, and the napkins (mindīl) of splendid cloth and precious stuffs for apparel. . . . I have heard a certain person say that he was present at the "Investiture" at al-Ḳaṣr which used to take place in summer and winter, the value (of the stuffs given away) then being more than six hundred

[175] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, II, 284.

[176] Ibn Taghrībirdī, "Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī's *Annals, al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira*," ed. W. Popper, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Semitic Philol.*, II (1909), 181. Cf. E. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[177] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473, 475, 478.

[178] *Ibid.*, I, 398.

[179] See A. R. Guest, "A List of Writers, Books, and Other Authorities Mentioned by El-Maqrīzī in His Khiṭaṭ," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, XXXIV (1902), 103–26.

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thousand dinars. The emirs used to be invested with garments of Dabīḳī, and turbans with gold ṭirāz borders, these two items being worth five hundred dinars. The greatest emirs were invested with necklaces (ṭawḳ), bracelets (siwār), and ornamented swords. . . . In 516 H. (1122 A.D.) the various articles upon which money was spent, came to 14,305 pieces. The largest sum of money ever expended on such a thing as that in the days of al-Afḍal (*ca.* 500 H.) throughout the whole of his administration, in the year 513 H. (1119 A.D.) was 8,775 pieces.[180]

Many more details of the garments distributed, and their value follow, too profuse to include here, but it is noteworthy that the types of stuffs included Damietta, Alexandrine, and Sūs cloth. This latter city may either be the Sūs in Africa or the city of Persia, both of which had a ṭirāz; the African Sūs is, however, probably intended, because an Abbasid inscribed textile could hardly be presented as a gift by their mortal enemies the Fatimids. This institution might be compared to the wardrobes of the Abbasid caliphs which it probably imitated.

A list of the perquisites appertaining to the office of controller of the Dīwān al-Madjlis in the year 517 H. (1123–24 A.D.) is given by Maḳrīzī, and includes:

On the four festivals, four dishes (ṣīnīya) of meats for the Breaking of the Fast (Fiṭra), and a winter investiture (kiswat al-Shitā') consisting of, for his own person, a napkin (mandīl) of silk, a piece (shiḳḳa) of Dabīḳī of silk, a piece of brocade, a cloak (ridā') of satin (aṭlas), a piece of brocade from the ṭirāz factory (shiḳḳa dībādj Dārī), two pieces of siḳlātūn one of them Alexandrine, two pieces of 'Attābī, two pieces of Maghribī khazz silk, two pieces of Iskandarī (Alexandrine cloth), and two of Dimyāṭī, a piece of striped gilded stuff and a cloth (fūṭa) of royal stuff (?khāṣṣ). For his children, he received a piece of scarlet from the ṭirāz factory (siḳlāṭūn Dārī), a piece of 'Attābī from the same factory (Dārī), a piece of Maghribī khazz silk, two pieces of Dimyāṭī, two of Iskandarī, one of gilded stuff,[181] and a cloth (fūṭa). For those of his household he received two napkins for sleeves (?), one of which came from the royal wardrobe, cloaks (ridā') of Dabīḳī, a piece of 'Attābī, and one of Sūs material, a piece of Dimyāṭī, two pieces of Iskandarī, and a cloth (fūṭa). For himself also, at the Breaking of the Fast, two bowls (ṭaifūr) of meats for the Breaking of the Fast, a hundred jars of būrī fish, and a complete suit of gold-embroidered clothes, and a suit of silk clothes for his children. For the people of his household he received a gold-embroidered cloak (ḥulla mudhahhaba).

The Feast of the Sacrifice was the same as the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast, with the addition of a gift of ten dinars, and sheep were sent to him that were not in his name. At the Festival of the Opening of the Dam (at the inundation of the Nile), forty dinars, a dish (ṣīnīya) of food (fiṭra), a royal bowl (ṭaifūr khāṣṣ) from al-Ḳaṣr, a roasted lamb, and a cup (djām) of sweetmeats. For his children he received five dinars, and for himself, at Nawrūz, thirty dinars, a piece of Dabīḳī of silk, a piece of red silk (lādh), a silken veil (mi'djar), and a silk napkin for sleeves (?), and a cloth (fūṭa).[182]

The following is the description of the "Stores of Upholstery and Furnishings" (Khazā' in al-Farsh wa 'l-Amti'a):

A trustworthy person related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Anmāṭī, saying: "We registered all the Khusrawānī (kingly cloth) brought forth from the treasuries of al-Ḳaṣr, which came to more than fifty thousand pieces, most of it embroidered with gold (mudhahhab)." I questioned Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz further, and he said: "From the treasuries more than a hundred thousand pieces were brought forth, the price of which was written down by my own hands and in my presence. A divan (martaba) made of red Khusrawānī cloth sold for three thousand five hundred dinars, was brought forth, one of ḳalamūnī cloth, sold for two thousand four hundred dinars, and three of sundus (a green brocaded stuff) each one of which was sold for over thirty dinars, besides twenty thousand pieces of Khusrawānī stuff along with their fringes, not one of which was cut. The price of the materials sold at the lowest and highest prices during the space of fifteen days in Ṣafar of 460 H. (1067 A.D.), quite apart from what was plundered or stolen, came to thirty million dinars, the whole of which was taken by the army and the Turks, not one taking a single dirham to which he was entitled."

[180] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 409. ff.

[181] Reading طلى مريّش for طلى مرش. Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, I, 574–75, quoting Idrīsī and Bakrī.

[182] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 400.

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The emir Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn al-Ḥasan, one of the chiefs of the tentmakers in al-Ḳaṣr told me that the farrashes (porters) entered one of the stores of upholstery, when al-Māraḳī's demands of money from al-Mustanṣir were very pressing, namely, the Khizānat al-Rufūf ("shelves"), so named on the account of the quantity of shelves (raff) in it. Each shelf had a separate ladder, and they brought down two thousand packages, consisting of pieces of gold brocade (ṭamīm) of all kinds of Khusrawānī material, etc., with their fringes, which had never been used. All of them were embroidered in gold (mudhahhab), worked with all kinds of figures (aṣhkāl) and images (ṣūra). They opened a bundle and found that it contained saddlecloths (djull), made for elephants of red gold-embroidered Khusrawānī stuff, of the very best kind of manufacture. The place where the thighs and legs of the elephants were, was plain (sādhidj) without any gold. Three thousand pieces of red Khusrawānī, embroidered (muṭarraz) in white on their fringes were brought forth, along with the trappings of howdahs (literally "tents") with all their appurtenances and cloths (maḳāṭi'). Every howdah was complete with its cushions (misnad), pillows (mikhadda), leather pillows (miswar), divans (martaba), carpets (busuṭ), seats ('ataba), cloths (maḳāṭi'), curtains (sitr), everything required being there."

He further said: "From the Khazā'in al-Farsh, there were brought forth entire tents (bait), furnishings (farsh) of Ḳalamūnī, Dabīḳī of a velvet pile (mukhmal), in all its colors and kinds, the abundance of which it is impossible to estimate, nor can the extent of its value be known, reed mats (ḥuṣur), and strips (nakhkh) of Sāmān, with a ṭirāz border of gold and silver, and those without a ṭirāz border, of the embroidered (mukharram) kind, and a great number of birds and elephants depicted with all kinds of pictures. One of the Turks asked for a piece of striped linen stuff (miḳrama), that is to say, a curtain (sitāra) of green gold-embroidered sundus material, so a package of it was brought out, upon which was written "188 of the total number of packages containing cloth (matā')." (Packages) to the number of two hundred were found, composed of silk curtains woven with gold, of different colors and lengths, nearly a thousand (in all). Upon those were the pictures of dynasties and their kings, and notables, his name, the length of his life, and an account of each one being written upon each. Four thousand bales (rizma) of gold-embroidered Khusrawānī were brought forth from the upholstery stores, in each of which were the furnishings (farsh) for an audience chamber (madjlis), with its large carpets (busuṭ) and appurtenances, and other articles woven (mansūdj) with one thread, remaining just as they were without ever having been touched.

Fakhr al-'Arab received a piece of blue Tustarī Ḳurḳūbī silk (maḳṭa' ḥarīr azraḳ) of strange workmanship, woven with gold and other colors of silk, which was made to the order of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh in the year 353 H. (964 A.D.) with all the regions (iḳlīm) of the world depicted therein, with their mountains, seas, towns, rivers, and roads like geography (djughrāfiyā). There was a picture of Mecca and Medina set forth for the spectators, with the name written on every town, mountain, river, country, sea, road, in gold, silver, or silk. On the back of it there was: "That which al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh ordered to be manufactured out of love for the Sacred Territory of God (Ḥaram Allāh), and so as to show the places (known to) the prophet of God. In the year 353 H. (964 A.D.). The expenditure on it was 22,000 dinars." [183]

Tādj al-Mulūk received a tent of red Armanī (Armenian material) woven (mansūdj) with gold which was made for al-Mutawakkil (the Abbasid) without any peer or price, as well as a Khusrawānī carpet for which a thousand dinars were paid and which it was impossible to sell.

Ibn Ṭuwair said:

The upholstery store is near the Bāb al-Malik. The caliph goes to it without sitting down there, but walks around, asks for information about the state of affairs there, and orders the work to be carried on. One of its rights was the manufacture of Sāmān ("reed mats") in places elsewhere in Cairo and Miṣr. Its employees are given fifteen dinars, that is to say, on the day when the caliph goes to visit it.

Again, on the authority of the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir*, Maḳrīzī [184] gave an account of the "Stores of Tents":

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Mudabbir, the vizier of Nāṣir al-Dawla said: "Among the articles brought forth from the treasuries of al-Ḳaṣr, was a count-

[183] *Ibid.*, I, 416. It is uncertain whether the indication of the price is part of the inscription, but how else could the farrāsh know it? Perhaps one may assume that a ticket was attached to each piece.

[184] *Ibid.*, I, 418. ff.

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less number of packages containing tents (khaima), large tents (miḍrab), tents with two poles (fāza), flat-roofed tents (musaṭṭaḥ), military tents (? djarkawāt), fortress tents, and castle tents, tents with one side only, pavilions and marquees (fusṭāṭ) manufactured of Dabīḳī and velvet stuffs,[185] Khusrawānī stuffs, royal brocade (dībādj malikī), Armenian stuff, cloth from Bahnasā and Karduwān (in Persia), and the best kind of Ḥalabī (stuff manufactured at Aleppo), etc., of various colors and kinds, as well as of sundus brocade and ṭamīm (gold-brocaded stuff) embroidered with designs of elephants, wild beasts, horses, peacocks, birds, and other kinds of wild animals, birds[186] and human beings (Ādamīyūn) of all manner of striking and wonderful forms and shapes. Among them were the plain (sādhidj) kind, and that which is embroidered outside with wonderful pictures (naḳsh), with all their appurtenances, consisting of poles covered with plating of silver, and cloth of gold, and cloth without gold of all kinds and colors, and dishes (ṣufrīya) of silver, according to their size, ropes covered with cotton and silk, and all the other appurtenances and articles required, the whole being lined (mubaṭṭan) with gold Dabīḳī brocade (al-Dabīḳī al-ṭamīm al-mudhahhab), and gold Khusrawānī, and Chinese silk cloth and Tustarī cloth, and . . .[187] and goat wool (sha'rī) cloth, and striped cloth (muraiyash), and all kinds of silk of all colors and varieties.

A little further on, he described a tent:

There was depicted on the wall (rafraf) of it, the picture of every beast in the world, and every delightful piece of interlacing work ('iḳd malīḥ), and every pleasing shape. There was a ventilator of the length of thirty dhirā' on the top of it which Abu Muhammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yāzūrī had ordered to be made in the days of his vizierate. The artificers to the number of one hundred and fifty were employed in its manufacture over a period of nine years, and its cost came to thirty thousand dinars. Its manufacture was in the style of al-Ḳātūl which al-'Azīz billāh had ordered to be made in the days when he was caliph.[188] [He said to me:] We brought forth a flat-roofed tent (musaṭṭaḥ), made for al-Ẓāhir in Tinnīs of gold on gold of ṭamīm (gold brocade) . . . and another large one of gold-embroidered Dabīḳī, with walls (dawā'ir) of Karduwānī (from Karduwān in Persia) with pretty decoration (naḳsh).

Part V

THE SYRIAN BORDER

The Traditions frequently mention a stuff called Ḳassī. The material seems to have been in use in the early days of Islam, and there are several descriptions of it. Bukhārī said:

Concerning the wearing of the garment Ḳassī, 'Āṣim says that Abū Burda said: "When I asked Ali what one called Ḳassī, he replied to me: 'They are garments which came to us from Syria and Egypt. They were striped (muḍalla') and contained silk (ḥarīr); there are some which are like oranges (in texture or color ?) or like the skins of animals (mīthara). Women make them for the use of their husbands of a stuff similar to velvet (ḳaṭīfa) and dye them yellow.' "[189]

Djarīr in the traditions which he cited on the authority of Yazīd, said: "The Ḳassī is a striped garment which comes from Egypt, and contains silk. Mīthara are the skins of animals."

Another place mentions that saddle cushions, the wearing of stuffs called Ḳassī, garments of silk brocade (dībādj), and satin (istabraḳ) are

[185] Perhaps Dabīḳī mukhmal should be read for Dabīḳī wa-mukhmal.

[186] These seem to have been cloths with patterns (perhaps repeat-patterns) of a single animal. The Arabic words are "Mufaiyal, musabba', mukhaiyal, muṭawwis, muṭaiyar," all of which seem to be formed on similar lines to the stuffs called "Mudannar, mufallas" named after their resemblance to an allover pattern of gold or copper coins. Compare also mukhattam. Al-Tha'ālibī in the treatise known as *Fiḳh al-Lugha* added mu'aiyan "with an eye pattern," and quoted a verse referring to the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, concerning carpets and cloth "decorated with horses," and "decorated with birds."

[187] There are several varieties of cloth here which I have not been able to find in any other text. The words may be corrupt. These are muḍabbab (?, embroidered with lizards), and radjīḥ (heavy, weighted ?).

[188] Described by Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 470 ff.

[189] El-Bokhârî, *Les Traditions islamiques,* trans. by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *P.E.L.O.V.*, IV, III, IV, 108. Cf. *Le Recueil des traditions mahométanes par . . . el-Bokhârî,* ed. M. L. Krehl and T. W. Juynboll (Leyden, 1862–1905), IV, 84.

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forbidden.[190] Thus, already in the third century H. there was some doubt about the exact nature of these stuffs. Confusion seems to have arisen between two towns of a similar name, for Maḳrīzī gave the following account of Ḳais:

Ḳais was one of the neighboring districts to Bahnasā . . . Ibn al-Kindī said: "They have garments of wool, and robes of goat hair (mir'izz) which are not to be found anywhere in the world but in Egypt. Some Egyptians relate that Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, when he became old, could not keep warm, and it was agreed that he could only be kept warm by robes made in Egypt of dyed goat wool of a pure honey color. Numbers were made for him, but he needed only one. They have the ṭirāz inscription of Ḳais and al-Bahnasā on the curtains (sutūr) and tents (miḍrab) by which they are recognised. The ṭirāz of the people of the world is there." [191]

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in discussing other ṭirāz cities, said: "One of the districts of the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt) is al-Ḳais after which Ḳaisī garments are named, and another is al-Ṣafan (?) after which red Ṣafan robes are named." [192]

Ibn Zawlāḳ, however (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]), gave information about quite another locality. Talking of El Arish ('Arīsh) and Djifār, he said: "They have garments (thiyāb) which are mentioned by the prophet of God, known as Ḳassī made in Ḳass." [193]

This city of Ḳais is mentioned in the same work of Maḳrīzī, but it is obviously a different place from the city near Bahnasā:

A village to which are attributed the Ḳaisī garments, the ruins of which exist to this day. It is upon the salt sea between al-Sawāda and al-Wārida, about six posts by land from the town of al-Faramā. There is a great tel (hill) of sand, jutting into the Syrian Sea, where the Franks used to block the road to passers by. Near the hill is a salt patch where there is salt which the Arabs take to Gaza and Ramle. Near this salt patch are wells by which are planted cucumbers belonging to the Arabs of that region.[194]

Yāḳūt tried to explain the name in various ways. After quoting from the Traditions he added the remark of a philologist, which is probably incorrect:

Shimr said: "Al-Ḳassī is al-Ḳazzī, the *z* of which has been changed into an *s*." He quoted a verse of Rabī'a ibn Maḳrūm: "They made noble mats (namaṭ) into curtains (khidr), and displayed leather and striped wool ('ihn) upon the litters, and wore Iraqi stuff (raiṭ) and precious Ḳassī."

I say that in the land of India, between the river Wārā is a country called Ḳassī, a well-known place from which various kinds of garments and colored warpings (mi'zar) are imported. They are the most splendid of all stuffs imported from India of that kind. Indigo is imported thence used for dyeing. It is also of the finest of its kind.

A reliable Egyptian authority stated: I asked the Arabs of Djifār about al-Ḳassī, and I was shown a place like a hillock (tel) from afar, and I was told that this is al-Ḳass. It is a place near the coast between al-Faramā and El Arish, ruined, and without any traces left.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-Muhallabī, the Egyptian, said: The road leading from al-Faramā to Gaza is along the coast from Faramā to the headland of Ḳass which is a tongue jutting into the sea where there is a fortress inhabited by the people. They have gardens, orchards, sweet water, and sow a few crops. . . . This supports what the above-mentioned author told me. The author of the latter composed a book for 'Azīz, governor of Egypt who was in office in the year 365 H. (975–76 A.D.), and died in the year 386 H. (996 A.D.).[195]

[190] *Ibid.*, trans., IV, 47, text, IV, 38.

[191] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 204, and trans., p. 599.

[192] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268.

[193] Ibn Zawlāḳ, extract in Youssouf Kamal, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

[194] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 182, trans., p. 520.

[195] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 94.

An article has recently come to my notice which adds considerably to the documentation of al-Ḳass, and seems to confirm the account of Yāḳūt's "reliable Egyptian authority." See the articles by J. Clédat under the title "Note sur l'isthme de Suez," *Bull. instit. franç. d' archéol. orientale du Caire*, XXI (1922), and XXII (1923). Clédat says (XXI, 98), "Le lin pélusiaque était une des quatre principales variétés d' Egypte (quoting Pliny). Il servait à confectionner des vêtements et aussi des étoffes brochées d'or, qui faisaient l' admiration du monde entier; ces tissus se fabriquaient principalement

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Yāḳūt [196] mentioned yet another city, Ḳasā, which he tried to identify as the place where those garments were made, but this does not seem to be the place intended. The passage from Ya'ḳūbī quoted earlier in this chapter, does not identify Ḳais with Ḳassī garments at all, and no doubt it is the coast city of Ḳass from which the prophet derived his Ḳassī garments.

To this little group of textile-manufacturing cities, partly Egyptian and partly Syrian, one might add al-Faramā. Mas'ūdī [197] stated that it had stuffs of every kind.

Of Djifār and El Arish, I have not found any information, supplementary to the above, but Usāma ibn Munḳidh spoke of a "handsome Gaza saddle (sardj) . . . on which my name was written along the border (dā'ir) in black. The center of it was quilted (munabbat)." [198] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw referring to the Fatimids said:

> All the saddlecloths (namad-zīn) are of Rūmī (Greek) brocade, and Būḳalamūn, which, as it is made to order, is neither cut nor sewn. An inscription bearing the name of the sultan of Egypt runs along the borders (ḥāshiya) of those saddle-cloths.[199]

The style is similar.

Part VI

ALUM, NATRON, AND INDIGO

Egypt was the center of production and trade in certain substances used in the dyeing and preparation of cloth; these, with the regulations for sale and control are set forth in several authors. Most of them seem to be derived from the early Ibn Mammātī (*ob.* 606 H. [1209 A.D.]). One of these substances was alum (shabb) of which he said:

> It is a stone which is needed in many things, the most important being dyeing. There is some demand on the part of the Byzantines (Rūm) for their requirements; for they cannot do without it nor avoid using it. The mines are in the desert of the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt); the custom of the Dīwān therein is to spend thirty dirhams and sometimes even less in acquiring every ḳinṭār (one hundred raṭls) of it, in Laithī ḳinṭārs. The Arabs bring it down from the mine to the riverbank of Ḳūṣ, and the riverbank of Akhmim, Suyūṭ, and Bahnasā if its sale is from the Oases (Wāḥāt). It is carried to Alexandria from whichever bank it is found upon, at the time when the (flood-) water runs into the canal leading to it. No allowance is made for the employees here, except that

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dans les ateliers de Kasios, Tinnis, et Damiette. Péluse fournissait aussi des étoffes de lin." Again he says (*ibid.*, XXII, 162): "Kasios était une ville industrielle. Elle était connue par ses fabriques d' étoffes de lin, nommées Qassiah ou Qeissiah." The author refers us to Stephen of Byzantium under κάσιον. Clédat describes the site as it exists today, an elevated area; he has visited the place himself and his impression of the site closely resembles that of the authority quoted by Yāḳūt. Evidently such a classical or possibly early Islamic site may be worthy of excavation. Thus, also, we see that Ḳassī stuffs belong to the same textile-group as the manufactures of Tinnīs-Damietta which I have identified with the Arabic Ḳubāṭī. The town must have been destroyed or abandoned shortly before, or in the century and a half following the Arab conquest. It may be that it was ruined on the Persian invasion of Byzantine Egypt, but that the name of the cloth persisted in early Islamic times. The second Caliph Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb forbade women to wear Ḳubāṭī (Coptic cloth) on the grounds according to Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Madkhal* [Cairo, 1933], I, 242), that "even if it is not transparent it describes (the shape of the body)." Again the same author (*loc. cit.*) says "Ḳubāṭī is fine cloth (thawb), clinging to the body on account of its fineness." It is interesting to note that these two textiles, Ḳubāṭī and Ḳassī, both of which in all probability came from the same group of factories, should come under the disapproval of the traditionalists.

Khwarizmī gives al-Ḳass and al-Nakhla on the sea between the latitude and longitude of Faramā and Gaza (*Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, p. 18). He also gives the bearing of a city, al-Ḳais (*ibid.*, p. 13).

[196] *Ibid.*, IV, 91.

[197] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 20. Cf. translation by B. Carra de Vaux, *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la revision* (Paris, 1896), p. 33.

[198] Usāma ibn Munḳidh, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29, and *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), p. 54.

[199] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *op. cit.*, I, trans., p. 137, text, p. 46.

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which is required for the inspection of their market (matdjar). This is what is required by the precautions on the part of the Dīwān. . . . It is bought by the Laithī ḳinṭār, and sold by the Djarawī ḳinṭār. Formerly, there was an established sale of twelve thousand dinars to the merchants of Byzantium (Rūm), whatever surplus there was over that, being by the efforts of the employees in concert with the merchants. Its price used to vary from four, five, to six dinars and intervening prices. Whatever the merchants used to spend over and above this on account of a demand, was by the efforts of the employees. The quantity sold to the felt makers (labbād), reed-mat-makers (ḥuṣurī), and dyers (ṣabbāgh) came to eighty Djarawī ḳinṭārs a year, the price being seven and one-half dinars. No one was allowed to buy it from the Arabs and come down to trade with it, but the Dīwān. If anybody was found to possess any of it, it was destroyed according to the amount, along with severe punishment. It was not customary to bring any of it to Damietta and Tinnīs, and as for the transport of it to Alexandria, there was a kind called Kawwārī (?) brought from the Oases (Wāḥāt). An estimate of one dinar and two ḳīrāṭs was made for the employees for the transference of each ḳinṭār of it, and that used to be carried to the place of marketing as we have related, but the demand for it was small.[200]

A parallel passage is in Maḳrīzī:

The mines of alum are in the Ṣa'īd. The Dīwān used to spend as a rule, thirty dirhams for the acquisition of a Laithī ḳinṭār. The Arabs bring it from its mines to the riverbank at Akhmim, Suyūṭ, and Bahnasā, so that it can be taken to Alexandria when the Nile floods the channel to it. It was bought at the Laithī ḳinṭār, and sold at the Djarawī ḳinṭār. The amount of twelve thousand Djarawī ḳinṭārs was sold to the Greek (Rūmī) merchants at four to six dinars a ḳinṭār. About eighty Djarawī ḳinṭārs were sold in Miṣr (Cairo) to the felt makers (lubūdī) and dyers at the price of six and one-half dinars the ḳinṭār. Nobody else was able to buy it from the Arabs or anyone else. If it was discovered that someone had bought or sold any outside the Dīwān he was punished for an example, and all found in his possession destroyed. This has fallen into desuetude.[201]

The other substance for which Egypt has always been noted is the mineral natron. Ibn Mammātī again is very well instructed on the subject:

This natron is found in two mines in Egypt. One of them is in the west province outside a place called Ṭarrāna, there being a river between it and that city. There are two kinds, red and green. The other mine is in Fāḳūsīya, but it does not come up to the first in quality. Natron is restricted and preserved, there being no means of access to the use of it except through the employees of the Dīwān.

The amount of money spent on each ḳinṭār of it is two dirhams, but in the times of demand, the price of a ḳinṭār reaches seventy dirhams and more. The custom established at the present day therein is that when the Dīwān expends on the employees the wage for the carrying of ten thousand ḳinṭārs, they claim to collect fifteen thousand ḳinṭārs, the excess there being half a ḳinṭār. The contracts of the employees are made out to contract to collect that amount. The quantity of this kind required every year is thirty thousand ḳinṭārs. The farmers (of the natron) must deliver it from the direction of Ṭarrāna so that the Dīwān may be secure against any shortage in weight, and the danger of loss in transit. This provision, even if it provides some protection to the Dīwān, leads to the delay of the full balance by the natron farmers, because it is a custom of theirs that when they do not take out natron they have not to deliver any money for it. They always keep delaying the taking out of the entire quantity they have to extract, or at least the major part of it so that they make a profit thereby; nor do they deliver the kind they have sold. The Arabs in truth, are safe on account of the inability of the officials to control the Wadi (Natrun) and to guard it from them so that they collect to the advantage of the farmers and the loss of the Dīwān.

The farmers of natron have no customers among those who gain a livelihood by spinning. Only the bleachers (mubaiyiḍ) and the owners of furnaces (tannūr) need it, and they can only get it from them (the natron farmers). So necessity drives them to buy it from them at the above-mentioned price, in spite of the (low) sum spent on it, which is never exceeded. This department spends its money or most of it on the expenses of expeditions and the admirals of ships. Another scheme of the natron farmers is to buy a kind of it called Shūkis[202] which the bleachers need in some of their

[200] Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawānīn* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900–1901 A.D.]), p. 23.

[201] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 109, and trans., p. 315.

[202] See the glossary to the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisba of Ibn al-Ukhuwwa*, ed. by R. Levy, G.M.S., n.s., XII.

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processes. It is the custom of the officials to restrict that and to write to the governors to be on the watch for it. There are various imposts on natron. In Cairo it is sold by the Miṣrī (ḳinṭār) and in the Baḥr al-Sharḳ and the Baḥr al-Gharb by the Djarawī (ḳinṭār). Thus it is also in the Ṣa'īd, and in Damietta it is sold by the Tinnīsī (ḳinṭār).[203]

Maḳrīzī duplicates this passage in an abbreviated form:

Natron is found in the west province of the land of Egypt in the district of Ṭarrāna. It is red and green. A quantity of rather less than that of Ṭarrāna is found at Fāḳūsīya. It is another item of the products once common to all which Ibn Mudabbir restricted and placed under the control of a Dīwān of the sultan. It has continued since then to this day. The practice of the Dīwān was to bring, each year, ten thousand ḳinṭārs of it, and the farmers were allotted the amount of 30 ḳinṭārs of it each year which they had to deliver at Ṭarrāna. In Cairo it was sold by the Miṣrī (ḳinṭār), and at the Bāb al-Sharḳ, and the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt) by the Djarawī ḳinṭār, and in Damietta by the Laithī ḳinṭār.

The Cadi al-Fāḍil (the dates intended here are between the years 567–94 H. [1171–97 A.D.],[204] said: "Until the end of the year 585 H. (1189 A.D.) the Department of Natron was farmed for the sum of 15,500 dinars. In the year 586 H. (1190 A.D.) the sum of 7,800 dinars was produced." We have seen that the natron was given as fiefs to a number of soldiers. When the emir Mahmud ibn Ali became steward and comptroller of the state in the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ he monopolised the natron for which he made a market and it was not allowed to be sold elsewhere. Thus it is to this day."[205]

Of Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Mudabbir, Maḳrīzī said: "He invented all kinds of vexations which increased after him instead of diminishing. He restricted natron and appropriated the revenue, though previously anyone could take it."[206] Ibn Iyās[207] gave the date of this restriction as 250 H. (846 A.D.)

Egypt with parts of Africa, India, Palestine, and southeastern Persia was one of the sources of the supply of indigo to the Muslim world. Various authors, such as Ibn 'Awwām[208] describe the cultivation, and the *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*[209] gives an account of how it and also saffron and brazilwood (baḳḳam), are treated. 'Abd al-Laṭīf[210] said that indigo is abundant in Egypt, though inferior to that of India, (fourteenth century). Maḳrīzī knew that "indigo (nīla) is sown from Bashans onwards. The sowing is a waiba to the feddan (acre). It ripens in Abīb."[211] According to Ḳalḳashandī, "the tax on indigo is three dinars on every feddan."[212]

(*To be continued*)

[203] Ibn Mammātī, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[204] See Guest, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.

[205] Maḳrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, text, I, 109, trans., *op. cit.*, p. 315.

For Ṭarrāna, see P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamâlik . . . par Khalil aḍ-Ḍâhiry* (Paris, 1894), p. 35.

[206] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 103, trans., p. 298.

[207] Ibn Iyās, L. Langlès, *op. cit.*, VIII (1810), 30.

[208] Ibn 'Awwām, *Le Livre de l'agriculture d'Ibn al-Awam (Kitab al-felahah)*, trans. by J. J. Clément-Mullet (Paris, 1864–67), II, 297.

[209] Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *al-Isḥāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 21.

[210] 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad* (Paris, 1810), p. 36.

[211] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 103, trans., p. 295.

[212] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, III, 453.

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